



The  
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**Baghdad: Heritage, Conflict, and Identity**  
**Examining the Politics of Cultural Heritage in Rusafa Historic Core**  
**(AD 1900-2018)**

By

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## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of

Suhaira Al-Asaad

Ahemd Al-Naji

Layla Al Taha

Ghada Nader

And all those innocents who lost their lives in Baghdad

The city of peace, the city of conflict



## **Abstract**

The evolution of international cultural heritage discourse shows that the concept of heritage has become extremely broad and has a plethora of manifestations. The political uses and abuse of those manifestations constitute a widespread practice among nations and their various political systems to legitimize and maintain the political present. This research is situated amidst an ongoing theatre of conflict and seeks to explore how political motivations since the beginning of twentieth century have affected the ways in which the cultural heritage of Baghdad has been identified, shaped, and deployed to construct specific identities that correspond to the national narrative(s).

The role of the politics of identity in shaping heritage management in Baghdad generally and in determining heritage meaning in particular are examined through reviewing the heritage laws applicable to the city during the Ottoman, the British, and the national periods in their contemporaneous political context. This is augmented by adopting the ethno-symbolism paradigm and by visiting the literature of Arab nationalism and addressing the significance of prioritizing specific forms of cultural heritage within this movement.

Heritage practice in the city is examined in Rusafa – the city’s principal historic core – by analysing case studies and archival materials to investigate the degree to which cultural heritage was used by successive political regimes. A survey is conducted to discover the magnitude of cultural heritage loss in the context of the political and social instability of this conflicted city.

On heritage management, I argue that heritage legislation in Baghdad is a product of imperial and nationalistic ideologies, that the concept of intangible heritage is still not addressed in Iraqi law, but what constitutes official heritage has evolved from defining heritage on pure archaeological grounds to accommodate all tangible forms of value.

On heritage practice, the research evidences that the exploitation and negligence of heritage to consolidate specific identities in Baghdad has been both severe and exacerbated by the turbulence of conflict, and that it has been almost impossible to

garner any official interest in considering and deploying Baghdadi heritage as neutral cultural or economic resources without it being enmeshed in achieving political ends. The survey reveals that none of the cultural heritage losses were caused by the direct consequences of instability and conflict, but these losses have been imputed instead by this research to the change of national narrative and its impacts on heritage practice in the city.

In the context of frequent conflicts and dramatic political change, this research contributes to the heritage literature by emphasising the need to consider the concept of heritage as a cultural vessel replete with memory and identity, which is fuelled by evoking selected images and symbols from the past, and destined for meeting the political needs of the present.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Only the future is immutable; the past is always changing.<sup>1</sup>

A nation often chooses its past by the way it sees its present.<sup>2</sup>

Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.<sup>3</sup>

No heritage is unconnected with controversy, dissonance and cultural/identity politics.<sup>4</sup>

Heritage is not a neutral discourse, heritage manipulation for political use is a common practice frequently employed by governments, parties, and democratic/totalitarian regimes. David Lowenthal emphasizes that not only does heritage define those who govern, but assures and fortifies their rule; losing it can considerably circumscribe their authority.<sup>5</sup> Evoking selected images and symbols from the past entitles both power seekers and power maintainers an influential place in the political present.<sup>6</sup>

Heritage thus provides fertile soil in which political ideologies burgeon and influence the shape of societies and nations. Heritage is not only a political vessel replete with memory and identity,<sup>7</sup> but 'is essentially a political idea'<sup>8</sup> carefully formed to

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Stewart, 'Hellenistic Art, Ad 1500-2000', in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. by Andrew Erskine (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 494-514 (p. 513).

<sup>2</sup> Neil Asher Silberman, *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), pp. 100-01

<sup>3</sup> George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four (1984)* (Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1949), p. 143

<sup>4</sup> Laurajane Smith, and Natsuko Akagawa, 'Introduction', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-10 (p. 5).

<sup>5</sup> David Lowenthal, 'Identity, Heritage, and History', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. by John R. Gillis (New Jersey & Chichester: Princeton, 1996), pp. 41-57 (p. 43).

<sup>6</sup> A. Bernard Knapp, and Sophia Antoniadou, 'Archaeology, Politics and the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus', in *Archaeology under Fire : Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 13-43 (p. 14).

<sup>7</sup> David C. Harvey, 'The History of Heritage', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Hampshire, England & Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp. 19-36 (p. 21).

<sup>8</sup> Graeme Davison 'Heritage: From Patrimony to Pastiche', in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John Jnr and John Schofield (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 31-41 (p.36).

construct, reconstruct, and deconstruct memory and identity<sup>9</sup> in order to legitimate the present.<sup>10</sup> One pioneering attempt to shed light on this manipulation was achieved by the English writer George Orwell in his dystopian novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*:

‘Does the past exist concretely, in space? Is there somewhere or other a place, a world of solid objects, where the past is still happening?’  
‘No.’  
‘Then where does the past exist, if at all?’  
‘In records. It is written down.’  
‘In records. And –?’  
‘In the mind. In human memories.’  
‘In memory. Very well, then. We, the Party, control all records, and we control all memories. Then we control the past, do we not?’<sup>11</sup>

Since, as John Gillis argues, both memory and identity are often socially and politically constructed, these are intensely subjective, immensely selective, inscriptive not descriptive, and channelled to serve intended social and political positions. They do not exist outside political and social boundaries and history. They should be treated as notions people think with, and not about.<sup>12</sup>

Having such attributes, memory and identity are two prerequisite pillars used in forming any nation. It has been argued that ‘no memory, no identity; no identity, no nation.’<sup>13</sup> The members of a nation are unified by the selective remembering and forgetting of a shared history. In employing *National Memory*, neither knowing nor meeting other members is an obstacle to retaining shared identity.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, it is within the arena of national memory that the harnessing of heritage by the national state and its various institutions is evident. It is often considered as the official memory of the state.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Sara McDowell, 'Heritage, Memory and Identity', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Hampshire, England & Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp. 37-53 (p. 43).

<sup>10</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Orwell, pp. 143-144.

<sup>12</sup> John R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. by John R. Gillis (New Jersey & Chichester: Princeton, 1996), pp. 3-24 (pp. 4-5).

<sup>13</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'Memory and Modernity: Reflections on Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2 (1996), 371-88 (p. 383).

<sup>14</sup> Gillis, pp. 3-24 (p. 7).

<sup>15</sup> McDowell, pp. 37-53 (p. 40).

National heritage is indispensable for the national state. It is primarily employed to anchor the nation temporally, making it everlasting and ancient synchronously;<sup>16</sup> to cement national identity, to defend its territory and people against any competing claims by rival nations, and to justify territorial expansion by claiming lands outside its national borders.<sup>17</sup> It is about securing the nation's historical and cultural legitimacy<sup>18</sup> by providing arguments not only to support the nation's political narrative, but that are deliberately designed to correspond to the nation's political and historical territories.<sup>19</sup>

Situating architectural heritage in the nexus of nationalism and imperialism politics, this research engages with the architectural heritage of Rusafa, the historic core of Baghdad, and explores how political motivations have affected the ways in which architectural heritage has been identified, shaped, used, and deployed to construct specific identities that correspond to the national narrative(s).

A significant amount of literature has explored the political use and abuse of archaeological heritage in shaping national identities in the West, East, and in the Middle East.<sup>20</sup> Focusing on the Iraqi context, Magnus Bernhardsson argues that 'archaeology and politics are often interconnected in Iraq'.<sup>21</sup> His commendable work concentrates entirely on the use of archaeological heritage in the state building process and discusses how archaeology contributed to the Iraqi national identity throughout the twentieth century. A similar contribution to the literature was achieved by the Iraqi archaeologist Lamia al-Gailani Werr, who states that all Iraqi governments 'have

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<sup>16</sup> Marie Louise Stig Sorensen, 'The Fall of a Nation, the Birth of a Subject: The National Use of Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Denmark', in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 24-47 (p. 28).

<sup>17</sup> Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 183

<sup>18</sup> Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Kostas Kotsakis, 'The Past Is Ours: Images of Greek Macedonia', in *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 44-67 (pp. 54, 57).

<sup>20</sup> Susan Kane, ed., *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context* (USA: Archaeological Institute of America, 2003); Philip L. Kohl, and Clare Fawcett, eds., *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); John A. Atkinson, Iain Banks, and Jerry O'Sullivan, eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1996); Margarita Díaz-Andreu, and Timothy Champion, eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1996); Ran Boytner, Lynn Swartz Dodd, and Bradley J. Parker, eds., *Controlling the Past, Owning the Future: The Political Uses of Archaeology in the Middle East* (USA: The University of Arizona Press, 2010).

<sup>21</sup> Magnus Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). p. 3

always tried to use archaeology for their agendas and as tools of propaganda'<sup>22</sup> in the search for a homogenous identity for their ethnically and religiously heterogeneous population. Another work by Kamyar Abdi explores the relationship between archaeology and the nationalistic agenda in Iraq from the end of the Ottoman era to the invasion of Iraq in AD 2003. He argues that the ancient Mesopotamian past 'was used by various Iraqi regimes to promote their political agendas'.<sup>23</sup> Without doubt, this body of literature, which is constructed around archaeology and the politics of identity nationalism, provides a significant contribution to heritage discourse in Iraq, but it solely approaches the notion of heritage from an archaeological perspective, treating heritage as only antiquities from the distant past and excluding any debate of the possibility of deploying other forms of heritage to meet political ends. In addition, its geographical focus has not been on Baghdad as a historic city, but on archaeological sites across Iraq; the sites of Mesopotamian cities, and their excavated antiquities in Iraqi museums.

Focusing on the Baghdadi context, the available literature does not discuss the relationship between politics and the architectural heritage of the city. Instead it demonstrates that modern architecture was politically mobilized by both British colonizers and subsequent Iraqi governments to establish a new state and to build its nation. Khaled Al-Sultany attributes the appearance of modernity in Baghdad to a major political transformation between AD 1917 and AD 1921, from the colonization of the city by the British in AD 1917 to the formation of the Iraqi state in AD 1921, which necessitated the need for Baghdad to be transformed to the modern capital of a nascent state. He discusses the advent of modernity as a political and cultural necessity to ensure a better life for Baghdadis through modernity and modern architecture. His admirable work explores the way in which modern architecture was established in Baghdad until the end of the 1950s by introducing early works of British architects in Baghdad and the projects of pioneering western-educated Iraqi architects.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Lamia al-Gailani Werr, 'Archaeology and Politics in Iraq', in *Critical Approaches to Ancient near Eastern Art*, ed. by Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Inc, 2014), pp. 15-30 (p. 15).

<sup>23</sup> Kamyar Abdi, 'From Pan-Arabism to Saddam Hussein's Cult of Personality: Ancient Mesopotamia and Iraqi National Ideology', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 8 (2008), 3-36 (p. 3).

<sup>24</sup> Khaled Al-Sultany, *Architectural Modernity in Baghdad: Formative Years* (Amman: Adib Books, 2014).

Similarly, Iain Jackson discusses the work of the British architects in Baghdad through the projects of the Public Works Department, a British established department in Baghdad: he argues that architectural, planning and infrastructural projects were designed by the British colonial power to be ‘deployed in the process of state and nation building’.<sup>25</sup>

Another contribution to the literature is by Caecilia Pieri, who briefly explores the transformation of the urban and architectural landscape in Baghdad from the First World War to the establishment of the first Iraqi republic in AD 1958; and discusses how modernity has affected the identity of the city and contributed to the modernization of the state.<sup>26</sup>

Two points have arisen from the literature on modernity pertaining to Baghdad city. First, it focuses mainly on modernizing the city and its uses outside its historic cores through several scattered projects in the city. Second, it does not distinguish between the two completely different processes of state-building and nation-building, assuming both to be as one and using each term interchangeably. Modernity in Baghdad was used to contribute to state-building by providing the physical requirements and infrastructure of the state, but could not immediately contribute to a nation-building process since such a process is built on shared historical and cultural resources associated with the nation: a merit that modernity lacks. Alternatively, and in order to make the contribution possible, modernity (or modernisation) needs to be incorporated into the nation’s narrative and the literature neither discusses the shape of the nation or its politically constructed narrative.

Kanan Makiya explores the practice of ‘inventing traditions’<sup>27</sup> in Baghdad through the national obsession of erecting new monuments in the city. Monuments were designed to be incorporated into the official national narrative during the rule of President Saddam Hussein (in power from AD 1979 to AD 2003). Makiya argues that these monuments reflect images of an authoritarian regime that succeeded in capturing specific events – real, imaginative, or pure propaganda – materializing, and

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<sup>25</sup> Iain Jackson, 'The Architecture of the British Mandate in Iraq: Nation-Building and State Creation', *The Journal of Architecture*, 21 (2016), 375-417.

<sup>26</sup> Caecilia Pieri, *Bagdad: La Construction D'une Capitale Moderne (1914-1960)* (Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

channelling them to aggrandize the ruler and to ensure his status as supreme leader in the national narrative.<sup>28</sup>

However, with respect to the city's architectural and urban heritage literature, in addition to its paucity, it considers heritage as an entirely neutral discourse and limits the discussion to somewhat technical procedures on how to save some forms of heritage. Ihsan Fethi sheds light on the need to protect, document and enhance urban and architectural heritage. He proposes conservation areas and argues for establishing a conservation authority with sufficient funds for staff development and for conducting necessary conservation work.<sup>29</sup> John Warren joined Ihsan Fethi's endeavour to save the architectural heritage of the city by jointly publishing *Traditional houses in Baghdad*, in which they explore the evolution of such houses, and describe their forms, materials and structures, as well as providing a brief recommendation regarding their conservation.<sup>30</sup> Another contribution by Tariq Al Janabi, focuses entirely on documenting ancient Islamic monuments from the later Abbasid to the end of the Jalairid period (from the mid twelfth century to the late fourteenth century).<sup>31</sup>

Academic research on Iraq has highlighted that national narratives have traditionally been based on the national significance of ancient archaeological sites or on national transformation through the cultural importing of modernism, and less attention has been paid to the everyday architecture of the city. At the same time, given the lack of recognition within the state literature of its urban and secular architectural heritage, one impact of the focus politically in deploying significant archaeological heritage and transformative modernism in constructing national identity is that there is a gap in the city's own narrative construction about its architectural and urban heritage. I argue that this is more significant in providing a shared cultural experience and national identity construction.

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<sup>28</sup> Kanan Makiya, *The Monument: Art and Vulgarly in Saddam Hussein's Iraq* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> Ihsan Abdul Wahab Fethi, 'Urban Conservation in Iraq: The Case for Protecting the Cultural Heritage of Iraq with Special Reference to Baghdad, Including a Comprehensive Inventory of Its Areas and Buildings of Historic or Architectural Interest. Vol.1' (University of Sheffield 1978).

<sup>30</sup> John Warren, and Ihsan Fethi, *Traditional Houses in Baghdad* (Horsham: Coach Publishing House, 1982).

<sup>31</sup> Tariq Jawad Al Janabi, *Studies in Mediaeval Iraqi Architecture* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Information, State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, 1982).

### **Baghdad: an overview**

After the overthrow of Omayyad's dynasty in the middle of the seventh century, Abbasid's dynasty chose to move the capital of the Islamic world from Damascus to Baghdad. Strategic reasons prompted Caliph al-Mansur to place his new capital in Mesopotamia. First, the proximity of Damascus and its Greek borders constituted a threat to the capital of the Islamic world. Second, the power of the Abbasid dynasty emanated from Persia in the east of the Arab peninsula at a great distance from Damascus. Third, the mainstream of the Islamic conquests was towards Central Asia and that necessitated a closer capital to the east.<sup>32</sup>

According to Maqdisi, Baghdad was selected from within the greater region of Mesopotamia owing to the fact that it was in the middle of good arable lands, limiting it from the danger of famine. Furthermore, it is situated between two great rivers, which were both mercantile routes, and provided natural obstacles to any invading forces approaching the city from either east or west.<sup>33</sup>

However, Baghdad was neither a virgin land or unpopulated, but a village prior to its selection by Caliph al-Mansur, and famous for its great monthly market, that stimulating merchants from Mesopotamia and beyond to sell, purchase and exchange various commodities. Excavations by Sir Henry Rawlinson in AD 1848 also revealed ancient Babylonian brickwork, stamped with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and the city's earliest known roots are recorded in the history of civilization as a small Babylonian town.<sup>34</sup>

The new capital took four years to construct, from AD 762 to AD 766, and was named Madinat al-Mansur and Maidant al Salam (the city of peace).<sup>35</sup> The city was round in plan, approximately 2.6 kilometres in extent, and with three concentric defensive walls fortifying it. It had four cardinal gates, and was generally constructed of sun-dried mud

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<sup>32</sup> Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate: From Contemporary Arabic and Persian Sources* (London: Curzon Press, 1972), pp. 4-5.

<sup>33</sup> Basheer Francis, *Baghdad, Its History and Antiquities* (Baghdad: General Directorate of Antiquities, Al rabita press, 1959), pp. 5-6.

<sup>34</sup> Mustafa Jawad, and Ahmed Susa, *Baghdad Map Index* (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy of Sciences press, 1958), pp. 16-28.

<sup>35</sup> Ihsan Fethi, *The Architectural Heritage of Baghdad* (London: The Iraqi Cultural Centre, 1979), p. 4.



bricks. Unfortunately, for this reason, nothing of this defensive historic city survives today.<sup>36</sup>

Physical expansion into new lands outside its walls proved inevitable owing to the finite area of the round city, and at first, expansion started southwards towards Karkh, an existing village, to accommodate commercial activities which were prohibited inside the round city.<sup>37</sup> A second expansion towards Rusafa on the east bank of the river started in AD 768.<sup>38</sup> Rusafa was settled by the son of Caliph al-Mansur, Al Mahdi, and his army to safeguard the round city and to prevent potential conflict between army personnel and Baghdadi citizens.<sup>39</sup>

Baghdad reached its cultural zenith under the rule of the fifth Abbasid Caliph, Harun al-Rashid between AD 786 and 809, but afterwards entered a period of internal power conflicts between Arabs, Persians, and Turks. That led to the overt hegemony of Persian and Turkish Generals who reduced the status of the Abbasid Caliphs to nominal leaders.<sup>40</sup> That led to relocate the capital to Samarra, north of Baghdad, for a short period, between AD 836 and AD 892. However, when the Caliphate returned to Baghdad, the Caliphs resided in Baghdad,<sup>41</sup> and specifically Rusafa, which continues to function as the city centre today.<sup>42</sup>

As a consequence of internal conflicts which affected the entire empire, the city entered a period of gradual decline of its power and cultural influence, which ended by its invasion and destruction by the Mongols in AD 1258. From this point onwards, Baghdad was transformed from the capital of a great empire to a regional town belonging to various invaders,<sup>43</sup> until it was captured by the Ottomans in AD 1638. Baghdad commenced the twentieth century as an Ottoman's province.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Henri Stierlin, *Islam: From Baghdad to Cordoba : Early Architecture from the 7th to the 13th Century* (Hong Kong ; Los Angeles: Taschen, 2009), pp. 108-12.

<sup>37</sup> Taha Baqir, *Baghdad: Historical Sketch and Monuments*. Second edn (U.S.A.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013), p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Jacob Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Studies* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), pp. 60-64.

<sup>39</sup> Mustafa Jawad, and Ahmed Susa, 'Planning Baghdad in Its Different Eras', in *Baghdad*, ed. by Mohammed Makia (London: Alwarrak Publishing Ltd., 2009), pp. 11-98 (pp. 22-23).

<sup>40</sup> Edmund A. Ghareeb, and Beth Dougherty, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004), p. lii.

<sup>41</sup> William R. Polk, *Understanding Iraq: A Whistlestop Tour from Ancient Babylon to Occupied Baghdad* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p 52.

<sup>42</sup> Ana Maria Negoita, 'The City of Mansur the Builder. Baghdad between the Caliph's Will and Shari'ah Norms', *International Relations*, VIII (2011), 111-26.

<sup>43</sup> Francis, p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Ghareeb and Dougherty, p. xviii.

Architectural heritage in Baghdad is unequally distributed to four distinct historic cores. These constitute the historic fabric of Baghdad. Aadhamiya and Kadhimiya were both established originally as cemeteries. The famous Imam Abu Hanifa was buried in Aadhamiya on the east bank of the river in AD 767. Since that time, the area of the cemetery has increased significantly around his shrine. Imam Al Kadhim was buried in the cemetery of Quraish on the west bank of the river and on the opposite side of Aadhamiya in AD 799. The cemetery was later renamed Kadhimiya, and similar to Aadhamiya, both of these cores derive significance from their religious value, while Rusafa and Karkh are prominent as commercial and residential areas.<sup>45</sup>

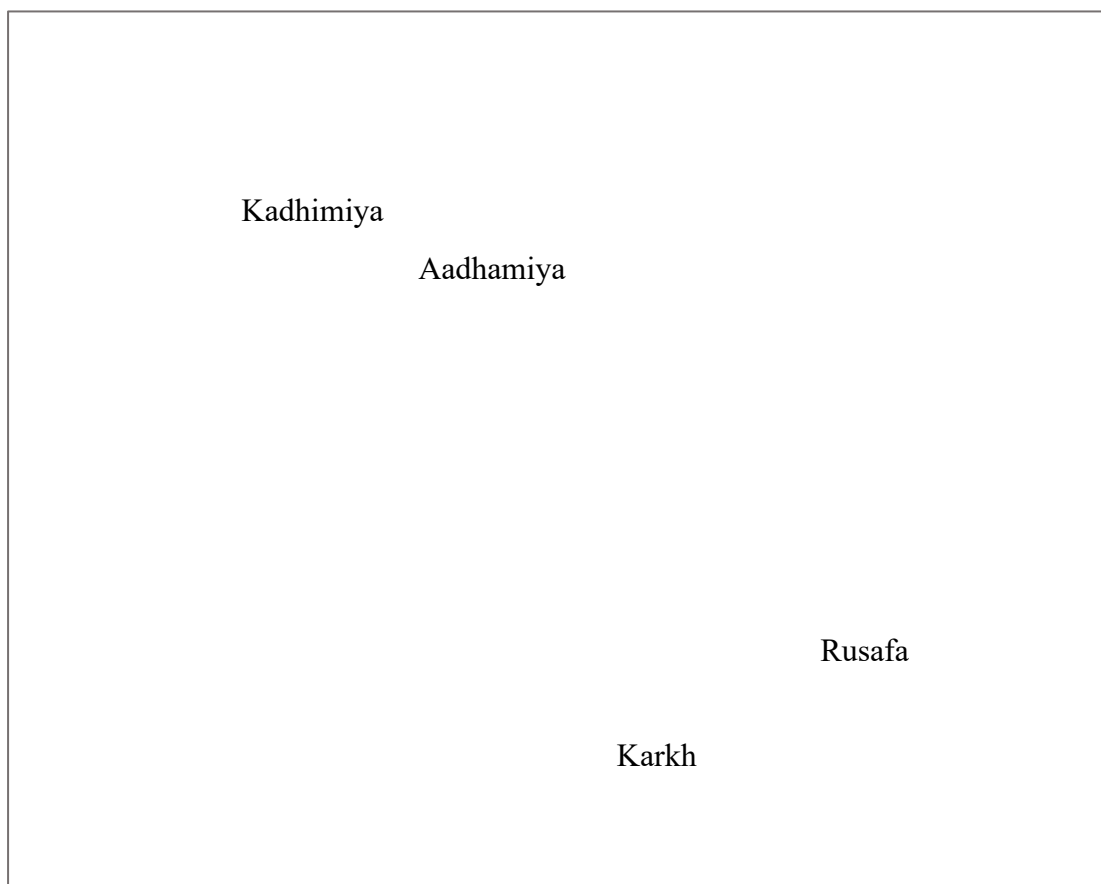


Figure 1.01: Map of Baghdad at the beginning of twentieth century shows the four historic cores and the lost round city.<sup>46</sup>

Defensive walls were constructed specifically around Rusafa in the twelfth century. The wall contained four gates, distributed from the north to the south and named in

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<sup>45</sup> Warren and Fethi, pp. 26-27.

<sup>46</sup> Friedrich Sarre, and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise Im Euphrat- Und Tigris-Gebiet*. Vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag Von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1920).

sequence: Bab Al Sultan (Sultan gate) or Bab Al Muadham, Bab Al Halaba or Tulusim gate, Bab Al Thufryia or Bab Al Wastani, and Bab kilwatha respectively.<sup>47</sup>



Figure 1.02: Map of the modern Baghdad shows the four historic cores.<sup>48</sup>

Today, Rusafa historic core still functions as the main economic, commercial and cultural centre of Baghdad and carries significant value in terms of identity, and meaning. Rusafa forms the largest historic core in Baghdad, with an area of approximately 5.4 square kilometres that contains around 15,700 buildings.<sup>49</sup> The core has four main types of urban form. First, a traditional homogeneous type represented by the pre-modern fabric, consisting mainly of traditional courtyard houses in a bad physical condition, but the houses and the net of alleyways that connects them still constitute a relatively coherent fabric. Second, a transitional fabric created by the construction of two streets between the two World Wars. Colonnaded rows of buildings along Al Rashid Street and Kifah Street form the principal feature of this type. Third, a modern fabric consists of scattered modern building blocks of diverse heights and shapes constructed between the 1950s and the 1980s. These buildings lack urban integration, generate a significant architectural disruption, and are considered

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<sup>47</sup> Mustafa Jawad, and Ahmed Susa, *Baghdad Map Index* (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy of Sciences press, 1958), p. 162.

<sup>48</sup> 'Baghdad: Tourist Map', (Surrey: Engineering Surveys Reproduction Ltd, 1990).

<sup>49</sup> Stefano Bianca, and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report: Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of Historical Centre of Baghdad City', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1984), p. 2.

‘as isolated "show-pieces", and do not relate to the older structures nor to other buildings of their own group’.<sup>50</sup> Fourth, one-storey garages, stores and service workshops constructed in 1940s in the core’s furthest edge from the river.<sup>51</sup>

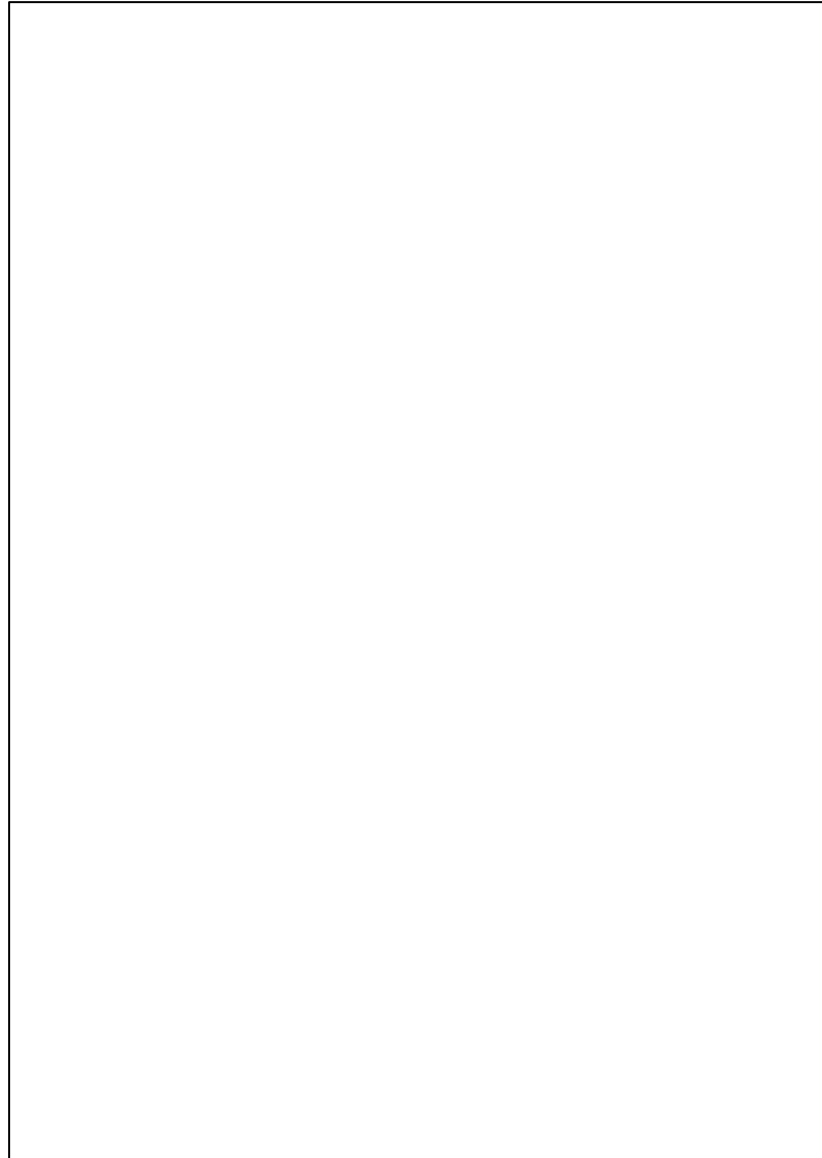


Figure 1.03: Rusafa’s traditional and modern urban fabric.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Stefano Bianca, and others, 'Rusafa Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of Historical Centre of Baghdad City: Synthesis Report', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1984), p. IV.

<sup>51</sup> Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report', p. 44.

<sup>52</sup> Mohammed Makia, 'The Development of Architecture in Baghdad', in *Baghdad*, ed. by Mohammed Makia (London: Alwarrak Publishing Ltd., 2009), pp. 347-45 (p. 352).

## Research aims

This research is clearly situated amidst an ongoing theatre of conflict and its engagement with the cultural heritage of Baghdad. However, as the overview of the history of Baghdad demonstrates, conflict is a characteristic of the city. In more recent history, and in less than one hundred years, Baghdad has been invaded and controlled by three empires: by the Ottomans until AD 1917, the British between AD 1917 and 1932, and the Americans from AD 2003 to 2011. Furthermore, Baghdad has witnessed three political overthrows over its period of national rule, in AD 1958, 1963 and 1968, three consecutive wars, AD 1980-1988, 1991 and 2003, as well as the imposition of international sanctions between 1990 and 2003 have each contributed to its decline.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, from AD 2003 onward, Baghdad has been involved in multi-faceted battles against global terrorism, fuelled by sectarian divisions in the heart of the Middle East.

Focusing on the recent stages of instability, from AD 1980 onward, which added long devastating war damage to the city and the region, and apart from a limited body of literature focusing primarily on the looting and destruction of Iraqi antiquities in Iraqi museums generally and the Iraqi National Museum in particular – events documented as a direct consequence of the American invasion<sup>54</sup> – there has been no official or academic study to discover the amount of built heritage loss after the continuous intensive period of instability (AD 1980-2016), nor any account to establish the interrogation into the links between heritage and identity in Baghdad at that period or any previous periods and how this has been shaped by local and international politics, decision and policy-making.

The aims of this study are:

- To discover, and then demonstrate, the magnitude of architectural heritage loss in Rusafa after 40 years of instability.

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<sup>53</sup> *Iraq: Legal History and Traditions*, (The Law Library of Congress, Global Legal Research Centre 2004).

<sup>54</sup> Lawrence Rothfield, *The Rape of Mesopotamia: Behind the Looting of the Iraq Museum* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 2009); Donny George, 'The Looting of the Iraq National Museum', in *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*, ed. by Peter G. Stone and Joanne Farchakh Bajjaly (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 97-107; Milbry Polk, and Angela Schuster, eds., *Looting of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad: The Lost Legacy of Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc Publishers, 2005); John Warren, 'War and the Cultural Heritage of Iraq: A Sadly Mismatched Affair', *Third World Quarterly*, 26 (2005), 815-30; International Council of Museums, 'Emergency Red List of Iraqi Antiquities at Risk', (Interpol headquarters in Lyons, France: International Council of Museums (ICOM), 7 May 2003).

- To understand the relationship between the politics of identity and heritage in the main historic core of the conflicted city.
- To trace the change of heritage meanings in Baghdad.

### **Research questions:**

The thesis therefore sets out to answer the main research question:

How have the politics of identity affected and shaped heritage management and practice in the conflicted city of Baghdad since the beginning of twentieth century?

This is addressed through the following sub questions:

- How much architectural heritage has been lost in the past 40 years of instability in Rusafa?
- How has the heritage of the city been used and abused in the ongoing construction of (a) national narrative(s)?
- What is officially recognised as heritage in Baghdad and how has this evolved over time?

### **Research design, data collection and analysis**

Two fundamental reasons have informed the adoption of my philosophical worldview and approach to my research design. First, the research is engaged with social, historical, as well as political contexts, and this stipulates a pluralistic approach. Second, the research questions (how, what, how much) necessitate both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection and analysis. Thus, the research adopted a pragmatic worldview and a mix methods approach. John Creswell argues that ‘for the mixed methods researcher, pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis’.<sup>55</sup>

The research employed a convergent design for the mixed method approach, which entailed collecting and analysing qualitative and quantitative datasets, and then merging the results in order for the latter to validate the result of the former.

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<sup>55</sup> John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches*. 5th edn (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2018), p. 11.

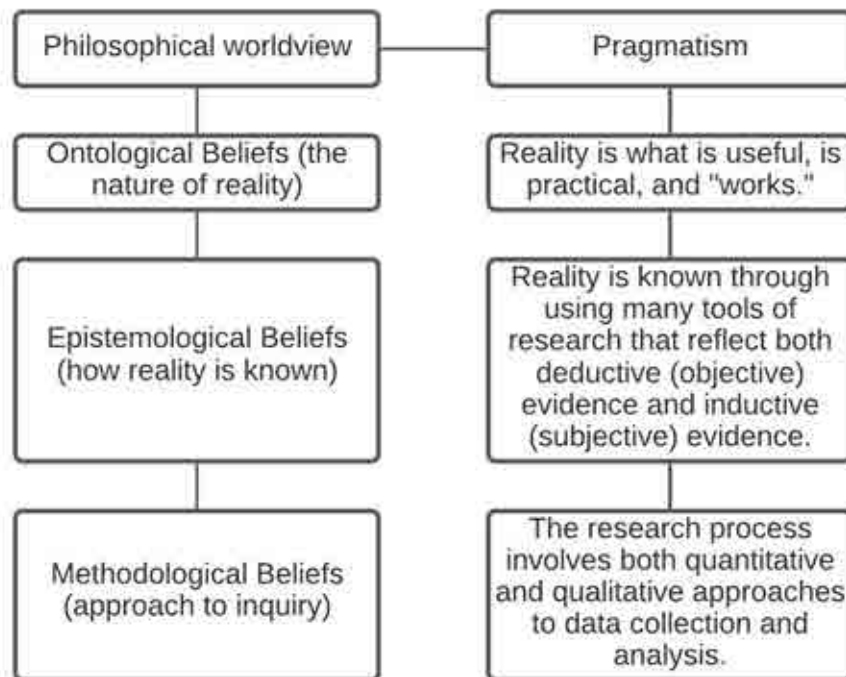


Figure 1.04: Philosophical Worldview and Philosophical Beliefs, adopted from John Creswell.<sup>56</sup>

With respect to the qualitative dataset, case study research, historical archives, interviews, printed documentary research, and local newspapers were employed to collect the data required to build a heritage narrative of Baghdad.

Adopting a case study technique enabled the research to develop ‘an in-depth analysis of a case [...] and collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time’.<sup>57</sup> Four case studies were identified and each constitutes a narrative that contributes to the overall research narrative.

The main relevant historical archives are located in London and Baghdad. The National Archives in London (containing War Office, Colonial Office, and Foreign Office records) hold the first accurately drawn plans of Baghdad at the beginning of twentieth century. These plans were used to analyse the fabric of the city and to indicate what was considered heritage at that time. Sadly, a significant number of historical documents in the Iraqi National Library and Archives in Baghdad was lost when this Iraqi public institution was set alight in the aftermath of the American

<sup>56</sup> John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. 3rd edn (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2013), p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 14.

invasion of the city in AD 2003.<sup>58</sup> Similar destruction of relevant records applied to the Engineering Department at the now defunct Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, where the majority of religious heritage building reports and drawings were stored.<sup>59</sup> However, I had access to microfilmed historical documents, for example relating to the Al-Mirjaniya case study. In addition, heritage legislations, reports, surveys, city development plans, and architectural drawings of heritage buildings and streets were accessed through the archives at the Municipality of Baghdad and the State Board of Antiquity and Heritage.

Twenty two semi-structured interviews were conducted in AD 2015 and 2016 with Iraqi and international architects, urban planners, and heritage managers who worked for or commissioned projects for the Municipality of Baghdad, the State Board of Antiquity and Heritage, and the defunct Iraqi Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs. Each interview was conducted to achieve two aims, to investigate and analyse heritage projects conducted in the city, collecting first-hand accounts and reminiscences, and to obtain substantial documentary evidence from individual personal archives to supplement documents lost from the public archives as described above.

This wealth of primary evidence was complemented by secondary evidence represented through printed documentary research and local newspapers. Both were used to enrich the research and link the heritage narrative with the socio-political context of Baghdad and Iraq.

Regarding the quantitative dataset, the research used a survey as a data collection method. The research updated Ihsan Fethi's heritage buildings survey of AD 1977,<sup>60</sup> the only comprehensive survey conducted prior to the recent political instability in the country, by re-visiting and photographing 289 heritage buildings in Rusafa. The survey lasted for 7 months, between September 2015 and March 2016. Several issues regarding locating and accurately specifying building positions in the historic vore arose. First, the locations of buildings in Fethi's survey were identified on low quality maps without adequate contextual information. Fethi emphasised that these differently

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<sup>58</sup> 'A Story from the Library's Life', *Al-Mourth* January 2008, p. 49.

<sup>59</sup> Head of the Engineering Department at the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, 'Heritage Mosques in Rusafa', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2015).

<sup>60</sup> Ihsan Abdul Wahab Fethi, 'Urban Conservation in Iraq: The Case for Protecting the Cultural Heritage of Iraq with Special Reference to Baghdad, Including a Comprehensive Inventory of Its Areas and Buildings of Historic or Architectural Interest. Vol.2' (University of Sheffield 1978).



scaled somewhat incomplete maps, were originally obtained from the municipality of Baghdad and the Iraqi Directorate General of Surveys. To mitigate the poor maps, a set of photographs taken by the Iraqi Air Force in AD 1972 were used by Fethi to fill the gaps and update location records but the location of some properties remained elusive.<sup>61</sup> Second, streets and building names or numbers have changed twice since Fethi's survey, and his record does not therefore correspond with what exists on the ground. Third, the majority of metal signs displaying Streets and building names or numbers were stolen in the aftermath of the AD 2003 invasion and sold for scrap; and additionally, when a heritage building collapsed or was demolished, its metal sign was removed, making some buildings difficult to verify in terms of location and existence.

To overcome these issues, the same maps of Fethi's survey were used as a base layer and overlaid with a high resolution satellite image of Rusfa taken in AD 2015. After adjusting the streets' and alleyways' boundaries with the satellite image; and by relying on heritage building records from the base layer, it became possible to specify their positions on the satellite image.

The majority of the identified buildings are situated in intricate alleyways which caused difficulties not getting lost on the ground: this issue was solved by using the google earth programme to generate positioning coordinates for each building using the Global Positioning System and a smart mobile phone.

Owing to government restrictions and unforeseen personal circumstances, the researcher had to delegate the work of visiting and photographing these heritage buildings to two of his colleagues in Baghdad, but all updated drawings were produced by the researcher himself showing the accurate position and condition of heritage buildings.

The survey employed the same numerical identification system as had been used in the survey of AD 1977, in terms of coding heritage buildings and zones in the historic core. Doing so not only simplified coordination between the two surveys, but it will assist future scholars and studies to trace precisely the same heritage buildings in both surveys.

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<sup>61</sup> Ihsan Abdul Wahab Fethi, 'Urban Conservation in Iraq: The Case for Protecting the Cultural Heritage of Iraq with Special Reference to Baghdad, Including a Comprehensive Inventory of Its Areas and Buildings of Historic or Architectural Interest. Vol.1' (University of Sheffield 1978), p 362.

The data was computerized and analysed using SPSS statistics 23 software. In addition to discovering what has been lost, the data analysis paired heritage loss with other individual variables (function, grade, and ownership) first, and then analysed the relationship between loss and all variables combined.

### **Thesis structure**

The study is divided into eight chapters and four case studies that discuss the politics of heritage and identity in Baghdad. Chapter 3 to 6 of the study adopt a chronological order in narrating the city from AD 1900 to AD 2018, while Chapter 7 extends to cover the full timeframe. Each case study constitutes a micro narrative which contributes to the macro narrative of the thesis.

In order to establish a theoretical framework for the research, exploring the relationships between heritage, memory, identity, nationalism and ethnicity, Chapter 2 (*Heritage, Politics and Architectural Conservation*) examines the current heritage debate, exploring various definitions and meanings, and focuses on the influence of tangible and intangible distinctions in cultural heritage, and the notion of place. It sheds light on heritage uses, emphasizing the pivotal role of heritage and memory in discourses around nationalism and identity formation, while demonstrating the significance of architectural conservation and charting its location within the broader field of heritage.

After introducing the place and the urban fabric of Baghdad's historic city at the beginning of twentieth century, Chapter 3, *Baghdad Colonial City and Early Heritage Formation*, traces early concepts of heritage, its legislation and the extent of heritage management during the Ottoman era. It also discusses how the city's cultural heritage was officially introduced and projected by the British colonial power to shape a specific ethnic identity which was mobilized in the national building process in Iraq, and explores the role of extant traditional institutions that own and manage the majority of heritage assets in the city.

Chapter 4, *Heritage in The Service of Arab Nationalism*, introduces the surge of Arab nationalism in Baghdad from the late 1920s by exploring the literature of Sati's al-Husri, one of its cardinal founders. It also shows its direct effects on heritage management and practice in the city, as manifested by prioritising one form of Iraqi heritage over others to intensify the nascent nation's Arab identity. The long project

of conserving the so-called Abbasid Palace, from AD 1934 to AD 1975, is selected as a case study to chart the intensity of nationalism on the project's three main conservation stages, and to appraise each stage in terms of conservation ethics (integrity and authenticity) by relying on contemporaneous international charters.

Chapter 5, *Heritage under Dictatorship*, explores the relationship between modernity and traditions by examining the way in which the relationship was applied in Rusafa during the rule of the former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein (AD 1979-2003), and how the regime's narrative, which adopted that relationship, necessitated Baghdadi heritage to be a political exigency to intensify both the leader and Iraq's national identity. I examine redevelopment and conservation projects conducted in Rusafa in the early AD 1980s before arguing that when this narrative was changed shortly afterwards by the same regime. It also shows how the meanings generated from Baghdadi heritage were gradually excluded from Saddam Hussain's narrative until Baghdadi heritage became irrelevant to such purpose, contributing significantly to heritage neglect and ultimate heritage loss. The last part of the chapter presents the magnitude of this loss by resurveying the Rusafa's survey of AD 1977.

Moving to the period of terrorism, Chapter 6, *Heritage and Terrorism*, deals with the use and abuse of heritage in the aftermath of the terrorist attack in Al-Mutanabbi Street in the heart of Rusafa in AD 2007 when a car bomb exploded, devastating a large part of its buildings and shops and killing 39 people. The chapter examines the transformation of Al-Mutanabbi Street, culturally and architecturally, over a ten year period (AD 2007- 2017), from an exclusive street for the urban elite to a beacon of public resistance, nationally and internationally, against instability and the everyday challenges of conflict. As a flagship Iraqi government project, the chapter analyses the *Al-Mutanabbi Street development project*, discussing the political importance of reproducing a new version of the street's tangible heritage, evaluating the political capital invested in visibly mitigating past security failures and the social capital embodied in architectural spaces that continue to contribute to the construction and reinforcement of Baghdadi cultural heritage.

Chapter 7, *Rashid Street: Destroying Old Heritage, Constructing New Heritage*, has three aims. First, it explores the change of heritage meaning in Baghdad through Al Rashid Street, constructed in AD 1916 as the first street in the city historic core to adopt

western urban planning principles. The street is no longer perceived as an agent of destruction of the city's traditional, vernacular and historic, architectural heritage. Instead it is viewed popularly as a cultural magnet providing significant impetus to the life and identity of the city. Furthermore, despite the deteriorating condition of Al Rashid Street, its eclectic architectural language and the relatively small number of its buildings designated of historic value, public perception of this street is as 'heritage', and significant numbers of Baghdadi people champion the case for its conservation, considering it to be central to local Baghdadi culture and identity. Second, it addresses the conflict among heritage agencies in Baghdad represented by *Awqaf*, the Directorate of Antiquities, and the Municipality of Baghdad in approving the demolition of historical buildings when heritage, as a contributor to the city's identity, has clashed with modernity. Third, it demonstrates the consequences of incorporating the street within every regime's political and identity narrative since its construction to AD 2003. Arguing that excluding it from the new regime's narrative after 2003 has negatively affected the street architecturally and culturally.

The final chapter, *More than a century of cultural heritage conservation in Baghdad: Discussion and Conclusions*, revisits the research questions to find and then discuss common themes which were employed at different periods in Baghdad. As well as concluding the research findings in terms of the politics of identity, heritage uses and abuses, heritage loss in Rusafa, and the evolution of the official heritage meaning in Baghdad.

## Chapter 2

### Heritage, Politics, and Architectural Conservation

Examining the current debate about heritage constitutes the principal aim of this chapter, it explores various definitions and meanings of heritage, while paying special attention to the notion of place and the impact of tangible and intangible distinctions on cultural heritage discourse. The chapter demonstrates the plethora of heritage uses and emphasizes the significance of heritage and memory employment in discourses around nationalism and identity formation. The last section of this chapter reviews the literature which engages primarily with the field of architectural conservation in order to chart its location within the broader field of heritage.

#### **What is heritage?**

The use and proliferation of the word ‘heritage’ in the last quarter of the twentieth century,<sup>1</sup> has generated an ongoing debate pertaining to its meaning. ‘HERITAGE IS EVERYWHERE’<sup>2</sup> David Lowenthal argues, but what does heritage mean? Robert Hewison comments on Lord Charteris’s<sup>3</sup> argument that ‘Heritage means “anything you want”’. It means everything and it means nothing, and yet it has developed into a whole industry’.<sup>4</sup> The dilemma of being *everything/nothing* prompts me to explore the word lexically in both English and Arabic to highlight those essential vocabularies derived from its definitions and use in cultural discourse.

The current *Oxford Dictionary of English* defines heritage as:

Property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance. Valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D. Fairchild Ruggles, and Helaine Silverman, 'From Tangible to Intangible Heritage', in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, ed. by D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman (New York: Springer 2009), pp. 1-14 (p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> The former Chairman of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and former private secretary of the Queen Elizabeth II.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry : Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3 edn, ed. by Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 820.

*Lisan al-Arab* (the Arab's tongue) by Ibn Manzur<sup>6</sup> and written in the thirteenth century states that 'inheritance, inherited, bequest, inheritor, heir and heritage are one entity'; and 'Heritage is what a man leaves for his inheritors'. Moreover, according to Manzour, it is not only assets that can be inherited, but immaterial objects as well, as in someone 'inherited his assets and glory'. In the same dictionary al-Zajaj elaborates further by relying on the interpretations of the Quranic verse<sup>7</sup> where 'Solomon was David's heir' arguing that David 'bequeathed him his prophecy [immaterial] and kingdom [material]'.<sup>8</sup>

It is evident from the lexical field that *Heritage* consists of three elements: predecessors [The Past], inheritors [The Present] and the inheritance [the material and immaterial bridges between the Past and the Present]. In addition, lexical discourse alludes to the idea that not every inheritance should be considered as a *Heritage* by stipulating that heritage should have a value as in 'Valued objects and qualities...'<sup>9</sup>

However, values are not determined by predecessors from the Past, but by inheritors in the Present. It is those of us who are alive value heritage,<sup>10</sup> and this means *Heritage* will change from one time period to the next based on these inheritors' interpretations. Jo Littler argues that *Heritage* should not be considered 'as an immutable entity, but as a discursive practice, shaped by specific circumstances'.<sup>11</sup> These circumstances are the social, political and economic needs of the present. Brian Graham, G. Ashworth, and J. Tunbridge argue that 'Heritage is about the political and economic structures of the present using the past as a resource',<sup>12</sup> while Rodney Harrison and others emphasize the importance of 'social action' by which a place is selected and defined as *Heritage*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibn Manzur is considered to be the most famous lexicographer of the Arabic language, he was born in AD 1232 and died in AD 1311.

<sup>7</sup> Quran as a text is the principal reference of all Arabic dictionaries, and from its verses lexicographers derive and highlight words' meanings.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Manzur, *Lisan Al-Arab*. 2 edn. 15 vols. Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar Sader, 2003), pp. 199-200.

<sup>9</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p. 820.

<sup>10</sup> Harriet Deacon, and others, *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage* (South Africa: HSRC Publishers, 2004), p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Jo Littler, 'British Heritage and the Legacies of 'Race'', in *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'*, ed. by Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-17 (p. 1).

<sup>12</sup> Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Rodney Harrison, and others, 'Heritage, Memory and Modernity', in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John Jnr and John Schofield (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1-12 (p. 3).

Not only does heritage change from one generation of inheritors to the next, but within the same generation as well. Laurajane Smith argues that since the needs of the present are not static, but changing and developing, *Heritage* changes and could be considered as a mean to express cultural change. As a result, *Heritage* is not an object, but is a *process*, by which cultural and social needs subjugate acts of remembering in order to constitute the means to fathom and engage with the present. The heritage process ‘is about negotiation’: negotiation of new contexts in the present, of identity making and of individual or collective memories.<sup>14</sup>

Heritage becomes *heritage* through a ‘Process of heritagisation’, Regina Bendix argues, and thus ‘heritage does not exist, it is made’. She adds that the focus should not be on materials, but on the process.<sup>15</sup> Rodney Harrison emphasizes the dynamic nature of this process; it is not merely the preservation of objects left from the past, but a dynamic process of selecting and gathering various chains of valued practices, places and objects to be used as a mirror to the present. Creative employment of the past in the present is the core of the process, it aids the focus on taking an active part in the construction of *tomorrow*.<sup>16</sup>

J. Tunbridge and G. Ashworth examine *Heritage* as a process from an industrial perspective and argue that it is a ‘commodification process’ and therefore *Heritage* is considered as a ‘product’ aimed at satisfying the demands of contemporary consumers. ‘Resources’ and ‘packaging’ are the two essential stages in this process. The past is thus the field from which raw materials are purposely selected, while the packaging is accomplished, with the aim to create a specific product, through *interpretation* of the chosen assembled integrated raw materials. Crucially, not only can various products be manufactured from different materials, but a plethora of heritages can be produced for different markets from the exact same material(s) by altering the interpretation at the packaging stage.<sup>17</sup>

This has two major consequences in terms of how heritage should be defined. First, all heritages may be considered as plurals, even in a homogenous society, since there

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<sup>14</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 2-4.

<sup>15</sup> Regina Bendix, 'Heritage between Economy and Politics, an Assessment from the Perspective of Cultural Anthropology', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 253-69 (pp.255, 259).

<sup>16</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> J. E. Tunbridge, and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), pp 7-8.

are multifarious producers, each of whom has a different agenda and objectives in creating heritage that targets specific users. Second, meanings are given to the material and immaterial remains of the past and these representations are sometimes more significant than the remains themselves.<sup>18</sup>

Defining heritage based on meanings has become far more complicated since the recent classification of heritage as both tangible and intangible by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).<sup>19</sup> According to UNESCO,

Tangible cultural heritage includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artefacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture.<sup>20</sup>

By contrast,

intangible cultural heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.<sup>21</sup>

Annie Clarke and Chris Johnston assert that the main focus of conventional heritage conservation is on tangible heritage with inadequate interest in non-material [intangible] facets of cultural heritage. Nonetheless, there is growing awareness about the importance of intangible heritage and its role in the way in which people react and interact with social and cultural environments. They demonstrate that the notion of heritage as built fabric and as physical “places we want to keep” is superseded by an overarching theme that heritage encapsulates both the tangible built environment and intangible values expressed through meaning, lived experience, memories, traditions and practices.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, a significant stimulus for heritage conservation emerges

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<sup>18</sup> G.J. Ashworth, B.J. Graham, and J.E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), pp. 2-3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> UNESCO, *Tangible Cultural Heritage*, UNESCO, (<<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/>> [Accessed 12 September 2014])

<sup>21</sup> UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', (Paris: 2003), p.2

<sup>22</sup> Annie Clarke, and Chris Johnston, 'Time, Memory, Place and Land: Social Meaning and Heritage Conservation in Australia', in *Place - Memory - Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium* (Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe: 2003).



from 'what people think, feel and do [intangible heritage] rather than from the tangible remains of the past.'<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, Giancarlo Nuti argues that maintaining the past was previously based only on conserving the material evidence of memory [tangible heritage], with the fabric of a monument or building providing a material expression of heritage. The contemporary approach is based on conserving the memory [intangible heritage] associated with tangible heritage transmitting symbols or values from one generation to another.<sup>24</sup> Michael Petzet, who was the president of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) from 1999 to 2008, emphasises that every single monument or building has a consistent spiritual dimension which varies in its amount from one monument to another and can be perceived in the historic fabric. Consequently, there is an inclination to consider this fabric both tangibly and intangibly.<sup>25</sup>

In the same context, Rodney Harrison argues that intangible heritage 'wraps' all representations of material heritage. By classifying heritage as tangible and intangible does not mean that either category is confined to itself, but that both can be integrated. For instance, incantations (intangible) and ritual objects (tangible) might be included in ritual practices simultaneously.<sup>26</sup>

The distinction between tangible and intangible heritage has primarily arisen from Western and non-Western international debate about what constitutes heritage. Harrison and Rose classify the tradition of cultural heritage into two categories. In the first, they characterise a Western tradition of heritage as separatist regarding the method which stimulates a 'canon' of heritage that is 'special' and outside the realms of the everyday. In the second non-Western tradition of heritage, the principal characteristic is the integration and accentuation of inter-relationships between

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<sup>23</sup> Tim Benton, 'Introduction', in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. by Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 1-6 (p. 1).

<sup>24</sup> Giancarlo Nuti, 'Cultural Values: Intangible Forms and Places', in *Place - Memory - Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium* (Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe: 2003).

<sup>25</sup> Michael Petzet, 'Introductory Lecture', in *Place - Memory - Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium* (Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe: 2003).

<sup>26</sup> Rodney Harrison, 'What Is Heritage?', in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. by Rodney Harrison (Manchester: Manchester University Press in association with the Open University, 2010), pp. 5-42 (pp. 10, 13).

heritage objects, places and practices and everyday life. They argue that tangible heritage cannot survive and be maintained without intangible heritage owing to the fact that the latter flourishes around tangible objects. Furthermore, culture and intangible heritage are fused together in everyday life - they are what people do to enable them to establish a relationship between themselves and their environment in the present. Owing to intangible heritage's reliance on 'tradition', losing living heritage is impossible due to the dynamism and continuity of culture. Harrison and Rose conclude that it is necessary to deal with heritage in an integrated way by endorsing the social 'work' that heritage does in various societies, the shared contribution of people and material things in the process of making heritage objects, places, and the role of heritage in the production of the present for the future.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, it is an arduous task to safeguard intangible heritage for two reasons. First, it is impractical to regard people in the same way when tangible heritage is considered in terms of owing, selling, purchasing, destroying, reconstructing and conserving of objects. Even when intangible heritage is designated, its meanings might be sabotaged or disregarded by outsiders; for instance conflicts are highly likely to arise at sacred sites involving worshippers and tourists.<sup>28</sup> Second, the same physical manifestations of intangible heritage are not fixed, but in frequent change. Difference is an essential characteristic of each expression or performance in such heritage.<sup>29</sup>

Thus intangible heritage is considered 'fragile', but 'resilient', Ahmed Skounti argues. Contrary to tangible heritage, which is susceptible to sudden destruction or even to be totally obliterated in extreme conditions, intangible heritage does not simply vanish. It exists even after those who had first borne it have perished. It is normally transmitted by one generation to the next, albeit it might be transformed (strengthened, weakened, extended or diminished) based on each recipients' circumstances.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Roney Harrison, and Deborah Rose, 'Intangible Heritage', in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. by Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 238-76 (pp. 271-73).

<sup>28</sup> Brian Graham, and Peter Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Hampshire, England & Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp. 1-18 (p. 4).

<sup>29</sup> Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubate, and Prosalendis, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ahmed Skounti, 'The Authentic Illusion, Humanity's Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Moroccan Experience', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 74-92 (p. 77).

However, the distinction between tangible and intangible heritage has been severely criticized. As already noted, Rodney Harrison points out that it is erroneous to state that intangible heritage and the ‘material’ world are two separate entities.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile Laurajane Smith criticizes international literature’s propensity to introduce the concept of tangible first and intangible second, which indicates that these are two separate things hierarchically. She goes further by arguing that all heritage should be defined as fundamentally intangible in the first place, explaining that values and meanings generated from material or immaterial resources are the core elements in defining heritage.<sup>32</sup> These elements are themselves *intangible* and by them, solely, heritage becomes *heritage*.<sup>33</sup> Graham and Howard conclude that since heritage is defined by meanings, the tangible-intangible distinction promulgating within international conventions is a false one.<sup>34</sup>

Arguing that all heritage has intangible properties, it is also inaccurate to consider intangible heritage as a single homogeneous thing. Intangible heritage cannot be classified into a fixed category owing to the fact that there are several versions of its non-material construction - or what is called significance. These might range from values generated from material elements, for instance, related objects, monuments and sites, to non-material aspects at the end of the intangible spectrum such as prayers, story-telling, etc.<sup>35</sup>

However, despite the diversification surrounding the tangible and intangible debate, there is a widespread international consensus to define all heritage as *heritage* in the first place. It is about satisfying the needs of the present, heritage values and the purposes to which heritage is put. For both the tangible and intangible, it is to deal with ‘what heritage *is* – [in other words]... the performance and negotiation of identity, values and a sense of place’.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, if the majority of heritage meanings are

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<sup>31</sup> Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p.14.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, P.56.

<sup>33</sup> Laurajane Smith, and Natsuko Akagawa, 'Introduction', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-10 (p. 6).

<sup>34</sup> Graham and Howard, pp. 1-18 (p. 4).

<sup>35</sup> Skounti, pp. 74-92 (p. 77).

<sup>36</sup> Laurajane Smith, and Emma Waterton, 'The Envy of the World?', *Intangible Heritage in England*, in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 289-302 (p. 292).

overwhelmingly generated from material form, and thus are normatively classified as tangible; then the opposite is true of intangible meanings.<sup>37</sup>

This is of consequence because of the significance now ascribed to the concept of place, its spirit and character, where tangible and intangible heritage fuse together to produce embodied meanings, social value, memories, and identity.

### **Place and its Spirit, Social Value and Identity**

Every place has two complementary elements, each of which cannot exist solely without the other. The first is quantitative, represented by the materiality and physicality of place, and this can be measured to allow a comparison with other places. The second is qualitative and can be neither objectively measured nor compared with other places owing to its immaterial, phenomenal and semantic characteristics.<sup>38</sup> Both elements contribute to the cultural significance of place. According to the Burra Charter, cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, in its fabric, setting, use, and records (comprising the quantitative element), and its associations, meanings, relationships and related objects, (the qualitative element).<sup>39</sup>

Regarding the qualitative, Marichela Sepe has argued that places acquire specific meanings immediately at the point that they are embedded with a value, so they represent more than just the objects situated on a site or in an urban area.<sup>40</sup> Even if a place does not have ‘splendid’ architecture, those symbols of everyday experience provide that place with its meaning which is seen and comprehended by the people who live there. This meaning is often less visible to outsiders.<sup>41</sup>

Juhani Pallasmaa approaches place by introducing the concept of mental worlds where the material, the spiritual, the experienced, the remembered and the imagined, constantly fuse into each other. Consequently, the rules of space and time as defined and measured by the science of physics do not have sole jurisdiction on lived reality. He argues that the lived world [place] is considered ‘unscientific’ if the criteria of Western empirical science are applied to it. ‘In fact, the lived world is closer to the

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<sup>37</sup> Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubate, and Prosalendis, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Marichela Sepe, *Planning and Place in the City: Mapping Place Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999* (1999), p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Sepe, p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Hough, *Out of Place : Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 18.

reality of dream than any scientific description'. Existential space is a term used to differentiate between lived space and physical and geometrical space. Meanings, intentions, and the values reflected upon it by an individual, either consciously or unconsciously, are the main pillars of lived existential space. This space has a unique quality understood through the individual's memory and experience. Definite experiences of existential space can be shared by collective groups, or even nations which forge their collective identity and sense of togetherness. This bond is enriched mainly by shared memories rather than an innate sense of solidarity. People's experience of place is on continuous interactive exchange with their setting: they settle in a place, and the place settles on them.

This exchange comprises concurrent adaptation of a setting and the projection of the body in space. From this exchange, memory and reality, perception and dreams unify.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, it is not solely memories, but traditions, narratives and myths that are the elements by which physical space is transformed into *place*.<sup>43</sup> This encapsulates the concept of the *spirit of place*, which represents the intangible dimension of cultural heritage, where material cultural heritage conveys and represents such intangible notions of spirit of place and sense of belonging.<sup>44</sup>

The spirit[s] of place plays a significant role in the process of heritage identification and production. It is considered simultaneously as an input and an output of such a process.<sup>45</sup> In terms of heritage significance, the ICOMOS 16th General Assembly and International Scientific Symposium defined the spirit of place by focusing on its components 'spirit' and 'place', and the relational concept between both.

Spirit, as the intangible genius of the creator, leaves a permanent impression on place and gives it meaning whereas the place itself, that is to say the tangible, nourishes the spirit of its creator and helps define the creation. Place as being a combination of both tangible elements (the features of the site, the buildings, the material objects, etc.) and intangible elements (oral traditions, beliefs, rituals, festivals, etc.). When considered as a relational concept, the

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<sup>42</sup> Juhani Pallasmaa, 'Space, Place, Memory, and Imagination: The Temporal Dimension of Existential Space', in *Spatial Recall : Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, ed. by Marc Treib (New York & Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 16-41 ( pp. 25-27).

<sup>43</sup> Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge, p. 54.

<sup>44</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, p. 4.

spirit of place takes on a plural and dynamic character, capable of possessing multiple meanings, of changing over time and of belonging to different groups.<sup>46</sup>

Three essential elements connect in this definition of spirit of place: the tangible, the intangible and their relationship with particular cultural groups.<sup>47</sup>

Kapila Silva demonstrates the significance of the first two elements in invoking the spirit of place. She asserts that it is not an exclusive merit of particular places: every place has this merit, but its significance varies from one place to another, some places could be unique, or common, yet could have a very strong or feeble presence. A powerful spirit of place can be invoked owing to its unique tangible or physical features. Equally, if a place is devoid of unique physical features, its group can perceive a powerful spirit of place by virtue of the evocation of significant symbolic associations known to that group. Enormously powerful places may exist where distinctive physical and symbolic features co-exist.<sup>48</sup>

While Stephen Townend and Ken Whittaker demonstrate the significance of a cultural group's engagement with place, they assert that experience of locale, or involvement with it, imply a sense of place. Two basic ideas are introduced to comprehend this. First, place is not a closed 'Box' environment but it is where objects and events coincide. Second, place necessitates groups to interact with it in order to exist. Therefore, physical boundaries, objects, structures or buildings in themselves do not constitute place; rather a place is the outcome of an interpreted engagement with time, through stories, associations, people, buildings, structures, objects, 'natural' features etc. It has been argued that even if a place has an historic dimension, the spirit of place may not be invoked fundamentally by the historic features (listed buildings, sub-surface archaeology etc.), but by people's engagement with the idea of history or the

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<sup>46</sup> Bott Suzanne E, 'The Use of Psychometric Scales to Measure Spirit of Place, Relevance to Heritage Conservation Efforts from Ninewa Province, Iraq', in *16th General Assembly and International Scientific Symposium* (Quebec, Canada: 2008).

<sup>47</sup> Maria Ines Subercaseaux, 'When the Spirit of the Place Becomes a Symbol', in *16th General Assembly and International Scientific Symposium* (Quebec, Canada: 2008).

<sup>48</sup> Kapila D. Silva, 'Rethinking the Sprit of Place', in *16th General Assembly and International Scientific Symposium* (Quebec, Canada: 2008).

past and the tangible 'things on the ground' as well: 'Places do not exist outside the understandings of those who engage with them'.<sup>49</sup>

Bluestone also highlights the importance of people's engagement with historic places in order to safeguard them through manipulating their social heritage by framing narratives and stories about historic places which invoke the spirit of place. He argues that preserved buildings are not capable of narrating their own histories; these places usually depend on society to provide historical interpretation which is derived from people. Therefore historical narratives come from outside the physical preserved places themselves.<sup>50</sup>

Society's engagement with places leads to justifying the sociological value of place, and all societies form unique social spaces that secure their interwoven requirements for economic production and social reproduction.<sup>51</sup> Teague emphasises the importance of identifying place as a site of human activity, and that place is not only influenced by social activity, but that social activity is also instrumental in shaping place.<sup>52</sup> In addition, perceiving 'space' without social content, and similarly perceiving society without a spatial component, is extremely awkward. Place comprises an ongoing process of exchange and modification between people (and societies) who create spaces and those spaces that people are influenced by. It has been argued that social relations can be formed through space (e.g. settlement form is influenced by site characteristics); controlled by space (e.g. human activity is supported or hindered by physical environment); and mediated by space (e.g. the growth of various social practices is supported or hindered by a 'friction of distance').<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, social value is strongly connected with places that people perceive as sources of identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence. Some may be relatively simple, obtaining collective significance with the passage of time as a consequence of a collective memory of narratives linked to them. Their value derives

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<sup>49</sup> Stephen Townend, and Ken Whittaker, 'Being Accounted For: Qualitative Data Analysis in Assessing 'Place' and 'Value'', in *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place*, ed. by John Schofield and Rosy Szymanski (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 65-78 (pp. 67-68).

<sup>50</sup> Daniel M. Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory : Case Studies in Historic Preservation, Case Studies in Historic Preservation* (New York ; London: W. W. Norton, 2011), pp. 16-17.

<sup>51</sup> Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995), p. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Alexandra Teague, 'Conservation and Social Value: Rose Seidler House', *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 7:2 (2001), 31-48.

<sup>53</sup> Sepe, p. 9.

from imbuing the present with past events, adding reference points for a community's identity or sense of itself. They may have satisfied a community function that has produced a more profound attachment, or formed some feature of community behaviour or attitudes. It is therefore possible to articulate social value on a wide scale, with great time-depth, through regional and national identity.<sup>54</sup> The concept of 'place-identity' is the tangible articulation of the extensively used term: 'self-identity'. Therefore, the principal role of 'place' is to forge a sense of identity.<sup>55</sup>

Locality is a cardinal element in forging personal and collective identity. It induces a feeling of belonging to a specific place called *home*, where a person feels comfortable and defines him/herself through it.<sup>56</sup> The same sense of belonging unifies people by bounding them to a specific territory where they live and belong. Nevertheless, the sense of belonging is not solely attributed to a geographical area marked on a topographical map, but to its concrete reality and the proximity of its social network.<sup>57</sup>

Peter Howard reminds us about the diverse nature of personal and collective identities. There are several other identities that exist (for instance, gender, professional and religious identities), but these are not constructed based on place identity owing to the fact that they lack a geographic component.<sup>58</sup>

However, every member of society, even discounting geographically derived identities, contributes to the identity of place by providing meaning to it. The identity of place thus consists of the fusion of physical heritage, local culture, and geographical context through perceived remembrances. Moreover, although identity can be described to some extent as solely personal remembrances,<sup>59</sup> nonetheless, it has been argued that 'social identity is personal identity and personal identity is social identity'.

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<sup>54</sup> Tim Benton, and Clementine Cecil, 'Heritage and Public Memory', in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. by Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 7-43 (p. 9).

<sup>55</sup> E. ASSI, 'Memory and Place', in *16th General Assembly and International Scientific Symposium* (Quebec, Canada: 2008).

<sup>56</sup> Sara McDowell, 'Heritage, Memory and Identity', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Hampshire, England & Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp. 37-53 (p. 38).

<sup>57</sup> Mark Nuttall, 'Building a Nation Today, People and Places in Greenland', in *Heritage and Identity : Shaping the Nations of the North : Papers Presented at the 2001 Heritage Convention*, ed. by J. M. Fladmark (Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing Ltd, 2002), pp. 223-38 (p. 223).

<sup>58</sup> Peter Howard, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity* (London; New York: Continuum, 2003), p. 150.

<sup>59</sup> John Worthington, 'Identity and Branding: What's in a Name?', in *Urban Identity: The Academy of Urbanism*, ed. by Brian Evans, Frank McDonald and Rudlin David (Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 68-79 (p. 77).



It is difficult to provide reliable solid distinctions between the personal and the social owing to the form of personal meaning in the social context and as a result, personal identity is still connected with the social context in which it is nurtured.<sup>60</sup>

People behave differently when they detect any threats to their identity. When they cannot manage their world, social actors tend to reduce it to their size and reach. When time and space are fused by networks, 'people anchor themselves in places', and start recalling their historic memory. Nonetheless, these defensive responses turn into sources of meaning and identity, creating new cultural codes out of historical materials. People endeavour to escape to a place, called home, if the image of their society is disrupted or the symbolic signs of their cultural identity are vague. The reason for this is that the identity and image of peoples' homes are a continuous extension of the identity and image of themselves: people instinctively tend to recognize themselves within their city, region or country and their sense of self is not restricted by their physical form, but enlarged into family, neighbourhood, district, region, nation, and continent. Therefore, any threat to the strength of home-place identity will have negative consequences on personal identity. 'To be without a place of one's own - *persona non locata* - is to be almost non-existent.'<sup>61</sup>

Susannah Hagan emphasises the exchangeability and interconnection between place and identity. She demonstrates that if cultural identity influences the construction of built fabric, it is certain that built fabric will also change if cultural identity changes.<sup>62</sup> In addition to the interaction between man's identities with physical and architectural settings, people inhabit numerous contexts and cultures, affecting social, linguistic, geographic, as well as aesthetic identities. Identity is not connected to isolated objects, but to a continuum of culture and life. Historicity and continuity thus make identities to be only momentary.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, several elements contribute to forming human and

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<sup>60</sup> Glynis M. Breakwell, *Social Psychology of Identity and the Self Concept* (London: Surrey University Press in association with Academic Press, 1992), p. 17.

<sup>61</sup> Adam Robert, *The Globalisation of Modern Architecture: The Impact of Politics, Economics and Social Change on Architecture and Urban Design since 1900* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), pp. 210-211.

<sup>62</sup> Susannah Hagan, 'Reflections on a Wind-Catcher: Climate and Cultural Identity', in *Architecture and Globalisation in the Persian Gulf Region*, ed. by Murray Fraser and Nasser Golzari (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 347-58 (pp. 356-357).

<sup>63</sup> Juhani Pallasmaa, 'Newness, Tradition, and Identity', in *Human Experience and Place: Sustaining Identity*, ed. by Paul Brislin (London: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2012), pp. 14-2 (p. 18).

place identity, and it is not a one-way accumulation, but based on the process of exchange between humans and their tangible and intangible surroundings.

It is therefore an intricate relationship that links people, heritage and places together. It depends profoundly on a process of identification in which groups associate themselves with special places that have perceived identities. Here heritage plays an essential role in forging identity. By exploiting it, people not only link themselves to place, but to those who occupied places in the past as well.<sup>64</sup>

Paul Brislin explains the outcomes of applying the concept of identity too tightly or too loosely. In the former, disintegration between persons or between one society and another is defined by a boundary which ignites the various scales of disagreement from neighbourhood dispute through to racism and catastrophic war. In the latter case, a feeling of misconnection can arise between people and their surroundings leading to alienation and disintegration between individuals and their environment. Paradoxically, identity has the capability of sustaining or destroying a group of people simultaneously. Nevertheless, it is clear that a sense of identity is normally crucial to the survival of individual, family, group and neighbourhood. It is therefore almost certain that the making of space has a crucial impact on forging and protecting human identity.<sup>65</sup>

### **Memory as a significant intangible facet of place**

Assuming that identity dependent solely on the physicality of place is inaccurate, John Gillis argues that identity cannot exist without interplaying with memory and remembrance.<sup>66</sup> This argument has been emphasized by Sara McDowell, Jens Bartelson and Gabrielle Spiegel quoted respectively below:

Without memory, a sense of self, identity, culture and heritage is lost.<sup>67</sup>

Memory is as indispensable to identity.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 181.

<sup>65</sup> Paul Brislin, 'Identity, Place and Human Experience', in *Human Experience and Place: Sustaining Identity*, ed. by Paul Brislin (London: Wiley, 2012), pp. 8-13 (p. 8).

<sup>66</sup> John R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. by John R. Gillis (New Jersey & Chichester: Princeton, 1996), pp. 3-24 (p. 3).

<sup>67</sup> McDowell, pp. 37-53 (p. 42).

<sup>68</sup> Jens Bartelson, 'We Could Remember It for You Wholesale: Myths, Monuments and the Constitution of National Memories', in *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship*

...memory remains the bearer of meaning, the vehicle of identity, and the promise of transcendence.<sup>69</sup>

With respect to memory as a discourse, in theory, memory can be divided into personal [private] memory and collective [shared] memory, with the latter classified into three categories: First is communicative memory, which combines socialization and communication and their implications such as consciousness and the acquisition of language. Second is cultural memory, which mixes externalization and the objectification of memory. Individual and communicative memory are fused together to form this memory which is present in symbols such as texts, images, rituals and landmarks. Third is political memory, a top-down institution based on the political organization that forms it. This memory shares its externalized, symbolical feature with cultural memory. Nonetheless, cultural memory develops over a long period of time in the way that cooperation between uncontrolled, self-organizing bottom-up accumulation and controlled top-down organizations is more or less independent of any specific political organization.<sup>70</sup> Sharon Macdonald adds to the distinction between the interchangeable two terms of ‘Social memory’ [communicative memory] and ‘Cultural memory’. Cultural memory is a memory which is formulated essentially by transmission of cultural materials such as texts, film, museums and exhibitions while social memory involves person-to-person contact. She argues that even though the direct transition of social memory vanishes and disappears throughout time, cultural memory can remain because it is materialized into cultural forms.<sup>71</sup> Regarding this distinction, time presents a significant aspect: social memory encapsulates current history and memories of an entire single generation, whereas cultural memory has deeper roots in history and is strongly associated with persistent symbolic figures and forms.<sup>72</sup>

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*between Past and Present*, ed. by Duncan Bell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 33-53 (p. 36).

<sup>69</sup> Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time', *History and Theory*, 41 (2002), 149-62 (p. 156).

<sup>70</sup> Jan Assmann, 'Globalization, Universalism, and the Erosion of Cultural Memory', in *Memory in A global age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, UK ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 121-37 (p. 122).

<sup>71</sup> Macdonald Sharon, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada: Routledge, 2013), p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> Marija Kulić, 'The Spirit of the Place Named Kumrovec: Article About Importance of a Place of Memory in the Context of Revalorization of Cultural Heritage', in *ICOMOS 16th General Assembly and International Scientific Symposium* (Quebec, Canada: 2008).

Being socially or culturally structured, collective memory is crucial in forging and maintaining group identities. It provides a shared interpretation of past events and experiences pertaining to a group's formation, enabling its bearers not only to present an accepted simplified narrative about their origin, but to keep their shared past, albeit a mostly selective picture of it, extant in the present.<sup>73</sup>

Historical inaccuracy, John Tosh warns us, is a major issue emerging from serving or justifying the present by employing a group's shared experience and a selective picture of the past.<sup>74</sup> This historical inaccuracy is what differentiates the collective memory from *Myths*, another type of social collectivity. Duncan Bell explains that collective memory is generated from a group's individuals' 'autobiographical' memory and experience. When it escapes the boundary of the individuals' experience, it becomes mythologised. Simplicity and the selectivity of shared images of the past are the common attributes that link collective memory and myths. However, myths are generally shared narratives about a group's ancestors and the places of their origin.<sup>75</sup>

However, all types of collectivity depend on the individuals who share them. Halbwachs demonstrates that it is very difficult to clarify the relationship between personal and collective memory. Collective memory relies essentially on a strong body or group, whose members remember as individuals but commonly support each other. He acknowledges that each memory represents a perspective on the collective memory. This viewpoint alters as the position of each individual alters, and this position alters as the individual's relationship to other environments alters.<sup>76</sup> Regarding this intricate relationship between personal and collective memory, it is generally accepted that 'memory' is intangible, private and intrinsic and cannot be maintained without social context, (for example communicating with other people, or the individual context of the memory holder themselves), otherwise memories are inevitably lost or fade. There is consequently a vigorous relationship between memories and places or things.<sup>77</sup> For example, the taste or the smell of foods can

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<sup>73</sup> Duncan Bell, 'Introduction: Memory, Trauma and World Politic', in *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present*, ed. by Duncan Bell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 1-32 (p. 2).

<sup>74</sup> John Tosh, and Sean Lang, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. 4th edn (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Bell, pp. 1-32 (p. 27).

<sup>76</sup> Benton and Cecil, pp. 7-43 (p. 15).

<sup>77</sup> Benton, pp. 1-6 (p. 3).

stimulate memory related to that particular food. In the same way, visiting a place, coming across an object or hearing a piece of music prompts memories. Tests have demonstrated that pupils can remember better information if they take the exam in the same classroom where they were been taught, for example.<sup>78</sup>

This phenomenon is called, by psychologists, the ‘extrinsic context’ of an experience and its memory - it is considered crucially significant for comprehending the relationship between heritage practices and memory. A place plays a significant role in stimulating memories connected with an original experience that took place in it. Even listening to other people speaking about their memories in particular places can stimulate these memories when visiting again.<sup>79</sup> Places trigger memories simultaneously in two ways. First, they enable people who live in a place to share their common past. Second, they reflect a shared past for those who live outside the place, willing to know about it in the present.<sup>80</sup> Conversely, memory starts to abate when place demolition occurs, since the recall of memory is eliminated or reduced by place destruction. As a consequence, the memory of that place, which represents the only heritage-surviving dimension, will be less meaningful to a new generation.<sup>81</sup>

Architecturally, monuments and heritage sites act as memory stimulators.<sup>82</sup> Ruskin, in his pioneering work *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, considered architecture as ‘The Lamp of Memory’, passionately arguing that ‘We may live without her [architecture], worship without her, but we cannot remember without her.’<sup>83</sup> Johannes Cramer and Stefan Breitling maintain that the architecture of individual buildings contributes frequently to group collective memory and constitutes a significant part of cultural remembrance.<sup>84</sup> Even the lexical meaning of the English noun *monument* derives from the Latin noun *monumentum*, which comes from the verb *monere* ‘remind’.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, powerful personal memories can be prompted by places or things

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<sup>78</sup> Benton and Cecil, pp. 7-43 (p. 23).

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-43 (p. 23).

<sup>80</sup> Hayden, p. 46.

<sup>81</sup> David Lowenthal, and Marcus Binney, *Our Past before Us : Why Do We Save It?* (London: Temple Smith, 1981), pp. 114-115.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander Tzonis, 'Introducing an Architecture of the Present Critical Regionalism and the Design of Identity', in *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World*, ed. by Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis (Munich; London: Prestel, 2003), pp. 8-21 (p. 16).

<sup>83</sup> John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture [Electronic Resource]* (London: Electric Book Company, 2001), pp. 231-33.

<sup>84</sup> Johannes Cramer, and Stefan Breitling, *Architecture in Existing Fabric : Planning, Design and Building* (Basel, Berlin: Birkhäuser, 2007), p. 19.

<sup>85</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p. 1148.

connected with events, even when these events have no direct relationship with recipients: they constitute a section of stories (or history) that recipients have learned and embodied, using imagination as a part of their own experience.<sup>86</sup>

Memory, according to temporal criteria, is thus the ‘past in the present, it is nurtured and passed on, shaped and added to by each generation’.<sup>87</sup> It has been argued that the realm of memory is therefore not confined only by the past and present, but it is intertwined with the future as well. The past may therefore be manipulated to support present interests and to define the development of the future.<sup>88</sup> In this context, it is important to differentiate between memory and history. Spiegel draws a powerful analogy that ‘history re-presents the dead; [whereas] memory remembers the corpse in order to revive it’. He argues that history looks at the past, while memory focuses on the present and an imagined future in maintaining fragmented images of the past.<sup>89</sup> It has been maintained that ‘Memory is life’ while history ‘is the reconstruction, [...], of what is no longer’<sup>90</sup> extant. Material and symbolic places are the outcomes of the interaction between memory and history. These places ignite a desire to remember [memory] and to record [history]. They represent the ability of reviving old meanings and creating new ones.<sup>91</sup>

### **Heritage, Power and Politics**

Rodney Harrison reminds us that the earliest intellectual debates pertaining to employing heritage for political use generally, and to promote a national sense of identity in particular, did not emerge from the field of *heritage studies*, but from the critical analysis of historical and archaeological discourses.<sup>92</sup>

From these discourses, it has been noted that the most conspicuous political use of heritage was achieved by nationalism as a movement aiming to establish and/or consolidate the national-state. Eric Hobsbawm argues that the ideology of the nation gains its potency from the field of history. This was based on an institutionalised image

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<sup>86</sup> Benton and Cecil, pp. 7-43 (p. 23).

<sup>87</sup> Clarke and Johnston.

<sup>88</sup> Sharon, p. 216.

<sup>89</sup> Spiegel, 149-62 (p. 162).

<sup>90</sup> Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7-24 (p. 8).

<sup>91</sup> ASSI, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 96.

of the past facilitated by selective written materials.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, for a nation to exist, a shared past that unifies its individuals must not only be established, but propagated as well. Therefore, the production of history is considered by nationalists as a patriotic duty.<sup>94</sup>

Some scholars have argued that the political use of heritage generally and the archaeological one in particular has reached a critical point at which a national archaeology is permanently stained with nationalism. This could be about promoting the imperialism, aspiration, liberation, atavism, or parochialism of nations.<sup>95</sup> Slapsak and Novakovic struggle to find archaeological heritage without nationalism by forming a critical question in the title of their article: *Is there national archaeology without nationalism?*<sup>96</sup>

Díaz-Andreu and Champion argue that there are two practices within national archaeology: the first where the influence of nationalism is subtle, difficult to notice and to some extent appears to be politically neutral; and the second where the grip of politics is conspicuously obvious. The former is endorsed by longstanding national-states in which its practice has become so naturalized, while the latter is authorized by insecure national-states or subjugated nations where archaeological heritage is employed as a vehicle for resisting the hegemony of powerful national-states.<sup>97</sup>

In both practices, archaeological heritage has been marshalled as ‘a technology of government’ involving heritage practitioners who might be incognizant of their roles in delivering a government’s political agenda.<sup>98</sup> Kane justifies this lack of knowledge due to already being entirely engaged in contemporary intellectual, social and political affairs.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-14 (p. 13).

<sup>94</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu, and Timothy Champion, 'Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: An Introduction', in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 1-23 (p. 3).

<sup>95</sup> Neal Ascherson, 'Foreword', in *Nationalism and Archaeology*, ed. by John A. Atkinson, Iain Banks and Jerry O'Sullivan (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1996), pp. v-ix (p. vii).

<sup>96</sup> Bozidar Slapsa, and Predrag Novakovic, 'Is There National Archaeology without Nationalism? Archaeological Tradition in Slovenia', in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 256-93 (p. 256).

<sup>97</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Champion, pp. 1-23 (p. 7).

<sup>98</sup> Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*, p. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Susan Kane, 'The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context', in *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context*, ed. by Susan Kane (USA: Archaeological Institute of America, 2003), pp. 1-9 (p. 3).

So why has heritage been regularly employed for nationalistic ends? Is it an irreplaceable apparatus in forming and maintaining a nation? In order to answer these questions it is crucial to understand what exactly do the terms *nationalism* and *nation* mean, and also to comprehend the mechanisms used in forming any nation.

Nationalism is an extremely broad discourse. According to Ephraim Nimni, it comprises four major paradigms [Perennialism, Primordialism, Modernism, and Ethno-symbolism] and multifarious theories. However, the latter two paradigms are considered the dominant conceptual frameworks in the contemporary study of nationalism.<sup>100</sup>

Modernism's doctrine is based on the premise that not only are nations and nationalism vital to the essence of the modern world and to the radical changes affected by modernity,<sup>101</sup> but they are both considered as the outcomes of modernity in terms of economic, political or socio-cultural transformations. For modernists, nations and nationalism emerged in the last two centuries from the processes of modernization – each process representing a theory within modernism – such as secularism, urbanism, industrialism, and capitalism, and the emergent modern bureaucratic states. They assert the novelty of nations and nationalism stressing the inconceivability of both being excited in the pre-modern era.<sup>102</sup>

Anthony Smith argues that the modernists' conception of nation is a biased one and that their emphasis on the modernity of the nation is a mere tautology due to introducing only single distinct version of the nation, '*the modern nation*'; the civic-territorial kind that emerged in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century from specific circumstances in the West. This has two consequences: preventing any definitions of the nation outside the umbrella of modernity and the West; and generalizing one version of the nation, as a broad concept, against numerous themes that the concept already contains.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Ephraim Nimni, 'Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Self-Determination: A Paradigm Shift', in *After the Nation?: Critical Reflections on Nationalism and Postnationalism*, ed. by Keith Breen and Shane O'Neill (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 21-37. (p.23).

<sup>101</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 3.

<sup>102</sup> Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), p. 72.

<sup>103</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 13-14.



The Modernists' chronological assumption is highly problematic owing to the fact that nations are not created by modernization processes *ex nihilo*. If nations have no pedigree and their genesis is totally situated in the modern era, why are nationalists motivated to deploying pasts that precede the modern period? If they consider themselves as awakeners of the nation, does this mean that significant prerequisites of the nation were there prior to modernity? The body of the nation was there, but only 'slumbered'?<sup>104</sup>

In response to the apparent failure of the modernists to justify the use of the past(s) that precedes modernity in forming and consolidating nations, a new paradigm has emerged. Ethno-symbolism emphasises the importance of ancient ethnic communities in nationalism discourse generally and in a nation's formation in particular. John Hutchinson asserts that 'nations are a species of ethnic group', and it should not be considered as an 'imagined community' or an 'invented tradition', but that nation is constructed, occasionally accompanied by protracted struggles, on a previous ethnic layer. Thus, the majority of the present nations derives their names from ancient groups, for instance, England, Finland, France, Russians and Vietnam are derived from Angles, Finns, Franks, Rus and Viet respectively.<sup>105</sup>

The early premises of Ethno-symbolism were formed by John Armstrong in his seminal work *Nation before Nationalism*. Armstrong stresses the need to study the emergence of the nation, as a strong group identification, and to study what has preserved the group identity over long periods of time by employing the sequences of the *Annales* school of French historiography. He focuses on one of the earliest and strongest group identities – ethnic identity – as an approach to the emergence of nations, arguing that the focus should be on group [ethnic] identities instead of institutional structures represented by the state.<sup>106</sup>

The focus on ethnic identity, Armstrong argues, is essential to take into account the paramountcy of boundaries as a social interaction model for defining this identity.<sup>107</sup> Thus, ethnicity according to the boundary approach is a set of shifting interaction

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<sup>104</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'Memory and Modernity: Reflections on Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2 (1996), 371-88 (p. 374).

<sup>105</sup> John Hutchinson, *Nations as Zones of Conflict* (London: SAGE, 2005), pp. 3, 9.

<sup>106</sup> John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 3-4.

<sup>107</sup> The model was originally proposed by the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth and adopted by Armstrong in his work.

constitutes, chiefly with classes and religious bodies, a continuum of social collectivities. Every collectivity (ethnic, religious, class) might transform into another over a long duration, hence there is no exact method of separating ethnicity from other kinds of identity.<sup>108</sup>

Armstrong explains that being attitudinal is the essential attribute of ethnic boundaries, therefore boundary mechanisms are non-material entities and cannot be situated outside the minds of their bearers. However, there are three central indicators of boundaries: symbol, myth and communication. Symbolic boundary mechanisms encompass words, musical sounds, drawings, gestures,<sup>109</sup> architecture, dress, and signs.<sup>110</sup> They are analogous to that of traffic lights, alerting those group members who approach an edge that separates their group from another. Communication is achieved by symbolic interaction; symbols transmit signals incorporating cues not only among the same ethnic group members but from one group to another. In addition, ethnic symbolic communication can be established over '*the longue duree*, between the dead and the living'.<sup>111</sup> Thus, 'the persistence of the symbol is more significant than its point of origin in the past.' Mythic structure is largely formed by the persistence of these symbols and myths play a significant role in amplifying the field of boundary perceptions by evoking a 'common fate' among group members.<sup>112</sup>

Armstrong's early premises of ethno-symbolism are Anthony Smith's point of departure, and he argues that nations are 'historical phenomena' situated in specific collective pasts and embracing shared memories and traditions. In order to fully comprehend them, it is paramount to trace their origins and formation over extended durations of time: '*la longue duree*'.<sup>113</sup> Nations might not be found in the pre-modern era, but a multitude of general collective cultural units called *ethnies*<sup>114</sup> existed. Indeed, a plethora of earlier *ethnies* could not survive from the pre-modern epochs, for instance Phoenicians and Assyrians in antiquity, but those who have survived with

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<sup>108</sup> Armstrong, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>110</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 23.

<sup>111</sup> Armstrong, p. 8.

<sup>112</sup> John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 8-9.

<sup>113</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'Introduction: 'Ethno-Symbolism' and the Study of Nationalism', in *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, ed. by Anthony D. Smith (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 3-27 (p. 10).

<sup>114</sup> Smith insists on using the French term *ethnies* which refers to ethnic groups.

their pre-existing ethnic ties have provided the foundations on which nations can be formed.<sup>115</sup>

What has made ethnic identities and communities pivotal to the formation and continuance of nations is their ability to provide ethno-cultural resources to establish a cohesive community based on a sense of national identity. It is about considering the nation as a historical cultural community by supplying a cultural history of the nation that stemmed from its ethnic past(s).<sup>116</sup>

Connections of the ethnic past(s) to the national present and future over *la longue duree* are placed at the heart of ethno-symbolism debate. Smith identifies three crucial modes of relationship that links past, present and future and depend heavily on extrinsic conditions and the means of the community. Recurrence represents the first mode of relationship over the *longue durée*, it is the recurrence of a national form of collective cultural identity and community in other eras and places, the recurrence continues to appear in the future as well. Recurrence indicates the potential availability of a specific cultural resource and of human association in all epochs of history. Therefore, “nations are recurrent, but not continuous, features of human society and politics”.<sup>117</sup>

Reinterpretation typifies the second mode. The ethnic past(s) needs to be reinterpreted, or as Smith argues to be re-discovered, in order to establish the group’s boundaries and frameworks that enable it to situate its place in the world by providing cultural models for forging the nation and its practices. This can be achieved by emulating the perceived historical canon and through the urge to re-establish the ‘true essence’ of the group.

The last mode, and the most crucial one, is continuity between past and present, which encompasses the continuity of cultural elements and forms. The most conspicuous continuity that affects group identity can be found in the field of religion owing to the fact that transformation of religious rituals and practices is often more gradual than other cultural continuities. Similar significant continuities are present in the fields of

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<sup>115</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), p. 57.

<sup>116</sup> Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, pp. 21, 39.

<sup>117</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), pp. 90-91.

landscape and architectural heritage, domestic and political rituals, languages, and games.<sup>118</sup>

However, Anthony Smith emphasises that the nation is neither a state nor an ethnic community. A state stipulates a group of independent institutions which offer it a constitutional monopoly in a specific place. While the distinction between nation and ethnic group is very subtle, both have overlapping common features associated with an exact phenomenological origin, and each being a community with collective cultural identities; yet the ethnic group lacks political references, common laws, and a distinct public culture. Smith defines the notion of nation as:

a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture, and common laws and customs for all members.

And the concept of *ethnie* as:

a named human community connected to a homeland, possessing common myths of ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of shared culture, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites'.<sup>119</sup>

The similarities between the concept of the nation and the *ethnie* are what make ethnicity crucial for ethno-symbolists. The *ethnie* provides five prerequisite symbolic elements – traditions, symbols, values, memories and myths of ethnic heritages – by which a nation can be established. These elements are crucial owing to four roles that they play, in distinguishing and specifying the same kind of individual collectivism, in forging forms of re-creating and disseminating particular cultures, in maintaining intergenerational collective cultural identities by securing continuity and recurrence, and in influencing collective change since there are inherently malleable elements which can be reformed for reinterpretation.<sup>120</sup>

Moreover, symbols, in particular, transmit a sense of group meaning over long periods of time and space when incorporated into sacred texts and religious sites, legal codes and political charters, languages, and more importantly the architecture of the metropolis.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>119</sup> Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>120</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'History and National Destiny: Responses and Clarifications', *Nations and Nationalism*, 10 (2004), 195-209 (p. 197).

<sup>121</sup> Hutchinson, p. 15.

The first four symbolic elements – traditions, symbols, values, and memories – are often incorporated by nationalists into myths, the fifth element. The persistence of myths relies heavily on these first four elements. Richard Clemmer argues that myths frequently accommodate significant cultural symbols,<sup>122</sup> and Joseph Campbell asserts that ‘the life of a mythology derives from the vitality of its symbols’.<sup>123</sup> William Doty analyses the structure of myths, and argues that:

Mythologies may convey the political and moral values of a culture and provide systems of interpreting individual experience within a universal perspective, which may include the intervention of supra-human entities as well as aspects of the natural and cultural orders. Myths may be enacted or reflected in rituals, ceremonies, and dramas, and they may provide materials for secondary elaboration, the constituent mythemes (mythic units) having become merely images or reference points for a subsequent story, such as a folktale, historical legend, novella, or prophecy.<sup>124</sup>

Since ‘myths are productions of the human imagination’<sup>125</sup> and ‘A myth is a large, controlling image’,<sup>126</sup> they are not merely neutral, but highly charged with political, social, and cultural signals. Nachman Ben-Yehuda argues that a myth is usually designed by careful selections of real or imaginary events, utilized to be deeply embedded in a specific and unique narrative to achieve the aims of those who disseminate it. It assists them in establishing specific social realities, evoking mixed emotions, and forming opinions.<sup>127</sup>

Indeed, myths might be criticized for deviating from objective reality, but they are not false. Joseph Campbell asserts that ‘myth is not a lie. A whole mythology is an organization of symbolic images and narratives, metaphorical of the possibilities of human experience and the fulfillment of a given culture at a given time’.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Richard O. Clemmer, 'Ideology and Identity: Western Shoshoni "Cannibal" Myth as Ethnonational Narrative', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 52 (1996), 207-23 (p. 207).

<sup>123</sup> Joseph Campbell, *The Inner Reaches of Outer Space: Metaphor as Myth and as Religion* (Canada: New World Library, 2002), p. xx.

<sup>124</sup> William G. Doty, *Mythography: The Study of Myths and Rituals*. 2nd edn (London: The University of Alabama Press, 2000), pp. 33-34.

<sup>125</sup> Campbell, *The Inner Reaches of Outer Space: Metaphor as Myth and as Religion*, p. 27.

<sup>126</sup> Mark Schorer, 'The Necessity of Myth', in *Myth and Mythmaking*, ed. by Henry A. Murray (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 354-358 (p. 355).

<sup>127</sup> Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. 283.

<sup>128</sup> Joseph Campbell, *Thou Art That: Transforming Religious Metaphor*. ed. by Eugene Kennedy. Optimized Read How You Want edn (Canada: Read How You Want, 2010), p. 2.

Thus, for Joseph Campbell, the sequence of events in myths differs from that of objective historical account in its tendency to sacredness and absolute symbolization, a deliberate selection of events and disregard of others, offering a narrative replete with edifying lessons in morality, prompting a rapid or future action from its audience, and referring to a majestic place with grand surroundings.<sup>129</sup> The last feature, where the employment of architectural heritage is evident, plays a crucial role in mythic structures by providing visible evidence for myths of nations to the target audience.<sup>130</sup>

In the same context, Frans Schouten reminds us that myths and nationalism interact with history in the heritage process, arguing that ‘Heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity.’<sup>131</sup>

Nationalists are usually interested in deploying one central theme of myths: ‘myths of origins and descent’. These distinctive myths play a pivotal role in achieving nationalistic aspirations for autonomy, dignity, territory and identity. On being uncovered and transmitted, they will likely perpetuate a powerful fascination among a group. Indeed, it is easier to evoke such myths among those ethnic groups who have entered the Modern era with preserved ethnic ties and the feeling of belonging to a shared ancestry. Meanwhile others who lack such attributes, have detected the significance of re-establishing, or even fabricating, their faded and forgotten ethnic ties and myths of descent.<sup>132</sup>

Anthony Smith identifies six frequent ethnic myths which have common characteristics traced back to the myths of origins and descent:

A Myth of Temporal Origins, *or When We Were Begotten* [...] A Myth of Location and Migration, *or Where We Came from and How We Got Here* [...] A Myth of Ancestry, *or Who Begot Us and How We Developed* [...] Myth of the Heroic Age [golden age], *or How We Were Freed and Became Glorious* [...] Myth of Decline, *or How We Fell into a State of Decay* [...] Myth of

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<sup>129</sup> Ben-Yehuda, pp. 282-83.

<sup>130</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Champion, pp. 1-23 (p. 21).

<sup>131</sup> Frans F. J. Schouten, 'Heritage as Historical Reality', in *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, ed. by David T. Herbert (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1995), pp. 21-31 (p. 21).

<sup>132</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'National Identity and Myths of Ethnic Descent', in *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, ed. by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1394-1429 (p. 1398).

*Regeneration, or How to Restore the Golden Age and Renew Our Community  
as 'in the Days of Old'*<sup>133</sup>

It is essential to distinguish these two ethnic myth-making modes of origins and descent. The first concerns the genealogical-biological ancestry of a group, where the core element in establishing such a myth is filiation. This is about tracing generational lineages of decent from a heroic and noble ancestor by which the group is unified through real or imagined blood ties. The second constitutes generational cultural-ideological lineages of decent from heroic ancestors. The connection between the group and its ancestors is not firmly established on kinship, but through the continuity of specific cultural qualities such as customs, traditions, language, religion, and institutions.<sup>134</sup>

Anthony Smith concludes the ethno-symbolism paradigm by asserting that surviving ethnic groups of the past are almost-named nations in the present owing to their cultural heritage.<sup>135</sup>

Moving to nation(al)-states,<sup>136</sup> cultural heritage remains of cardinal importance after achieving the nationalists' prime aim of establishing sovereign statehood.<sup>137</sup> National heritage is constructed, defined, and managed by state's institutions, such as museums, research centres, archives, and antiquity authorities. Their aims are to legitimize the state existence by promoting images of it closely connected with that of the nation on which the state built. The nation is the primary concern, with each critical moment of the nation's evolution neatly captured and widely publicized by these official apparatuses.<sup>138</sup>

Laurajane Smith identifies the hegemony of the state's official apparatus in heritage management and defines this as *authorized heritage discourse* (AHD). AHD relies

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<sup>133</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'National Identity and Myths of Ethnic Descent', in *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, ed. by Anthony D. Smith (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 57-95 (pp. 62-67).

<sup>134</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'National Identity and Myths of Ethnic Descent', in *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, ed. by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1394-1429 (pp. 1394-95).

<sup>135</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 84.

<sup>136</sup> I have meant both nation-state and national state. It is essential to differentiate between the two terms, nation-state does not have any national or ethnic minorities and is established solely from one nation. Conversely, national-state is organized by its dominant nation.

<sup>137</sup> Joep Leerssen, 'Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture', *Nations and Nationalism*, 12 (2006), 559-78 (p. 563).

<sup>138</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Champion, pp. 1-23 (p.3).

heavily on disseminating narratives and values stemming from the nation and its perceived higher level social classes, and on scientific/aesthetic expertise of official heritage practitioners.<sup>139</sup>

In her critique, this has several negative consequences: First, it alienates significant segments of a society, disenfranchising them from participating in the heritage debate, and dismissing any attempt to diversify the elite/national narrative or include sub-national identities. Second, heritage according to AHD has solely innate values and consists chiefly of majestic and splendid tangible objects, disconnected from the present and linked to the past, that should be judiciously protected and carefully passed on to future generations. Third, official heritage experts – for example, architects, archaeologists, and historians – are alone entitled the legitimacy to “speak” about or “for” heritage’. Their role is to identify the innate heritage values that spring mainly from places of historical significance, to instruct the non-experts and determine heritage meanings for them by imposing a top-down relationship.<sup>140</sup>

Moreover, the sole focus of AHD on tangible heritage impacts upon the intangible heritage context by linking it to material objects. Thus, memory, sense of place, social values, and identity not only become more tangible, but are made pliant and exposed to state regulations and control. They can be protected, destroyed, lost or deliberately vanished, and most importantly incorporated into lists and registers.<sup>141</sup>

### **Cultural Heritage and Architectural Conservation**

Steering away from nationalistic agenda, and moving from discourses on memory, identity, and place, it is essential to review the literature which engages primarily with the field of architectural conservation in order to emphasize recurrent themes and points of connection within the broader field of heritage.

Architectural conservation is a part of a broader field of cultural heritage. Conserving architectural heritage is rigorously linked to the dilemma of what to preserve; it takes us back to the philosophical stance of defining heritage as a process, involving meanings, values and uses; to satisfy the needs of the present by using the past as resources.

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<sup>139</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p. 11.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 29-30, 34.

<sup>141</sup> Smith and Waterton, (289-302) (p. 294).



The past thirty years have seen increasingly rapid advances in the field of architectural conservation at local, national and international levels. The dilemma of conserving or losing architectural heritage is still at the heart of the heritage debate and a considerable amount of literature has been published on the importance of architectural conservation and the benefits which it provides.

In this context, Aylin Orbasli states that nations often conserve in order to safeguard their architectural heritage and to celebrate their cultural identity and history. She describes architectural heritage as a three-dimensional presentation of a society's history, reflecting concrete evidence of previous ways of life, artistry and craftsmanship, techniques and culture. Since architectural heritage is considered as a limited cultural resource, any destruction of heritage buildings means their permanent and irreplaceable loss. By relying on architecture conservation, and its significant impact on safeguarding heritage buildings, sustainable benefits can be delivered to the present and future generations through appreciation and enjoyment, while also ensuring economic and social advantage.<sup>142</sup>

Buildings are the product of humankind and considered as a manifestation of cultural heritage. The significance of heritage buildings is to reflect information back to society relating to, for example, social and spatial patterns, national identity and 'the spirit of time'. Furthermore, these buildings enable us to comprehend human relationships and material culture. They collectively represent a body of man's achievement and, for this reason, built heritage belongs to the whole of humanity.<sup>143</sup> John Stubbs suggests that architecture is equivalent to literature or music in terms of determining the characteristics of a civilization. Countering the disappearance of previous generations, built heritage can remain and enables us to connect to its creators.<sup>144</sup>

Moreover, Bernard Feilden states that the lifespan of a building, (from construction and throughout its long period of existence), has a significant 'message' relating to art and society which can be understood by investigating the building's history.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Aylin Orbasli, *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell Science, 2008), p. ix.

<sup>143</sup> Alexander Halturin, Monuments in contemporary life, in *international council on monuments and site, Symposium on monuments and society*, Paris, 1971, pp, 21-22.

<sup>144</sup> John H. Stubbs, *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation: Parameters, Theory, & Evolution of an Ethos* (Hoboken, N.J. : Chichester: John Wiley, 2009), p. 51.

<sup>145</sup> Bernard M. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*. 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford Architectural Press, 2003), p. 1.

Architectural conservation has been suggested by Salvador Viñas, as a form of ‘piety’, and carried out for psychological reasons. Conservation has been described as a mirror that reflects the dream of living a long life while looking younger throughout it. Likewise, lack of confidence in the present focuses attention towards architectural conservation as an escape towards stability and continuity. Indeed, anxiety and social disfunction in the present can increase our interest in architectural conservation.<sup>146</sup> Robert Hewison adds that the propensity to conserve the past is part of the exact propensity to safeguard the self. It creates a stable system of organized meanings that bridges the gulf between the past and the present, aids us in knowing to where we are going by knowing where we have been; and alleviates the burden of inevitable change and chaos that we encounter in the present.<sup>147</sup> As a direct response to an unprecedented level of destruction of architectural heritage in the last century, we have increased our endeavours to conserve and maintain built heritage. As Lowenthal and Binney argue, ‘The more the past is destroyed or left behind, the more pervasive grows our nostalgia, the more obsessed we become with preservation and reconstruction’.<sup>148</sup>

Traditionally, it has been argued that conserving built heritage provides economic benefits for local people through the heritage tourism industry. Major problems in historic areas such as loss of employment, depopulation and a general spiral of decay can be solved by adopting conservation plans which stimulate and accelerate economic growth.<sup>149</sup> In this sense, a primary reason for architectural conservation has been the financial outcome, and many heritage buildings have been safeguarded and conserved owing to tourism interests. Nonetheless, the tourism industry is responsible for damaging and eroding historic sites.<sup>150</sup> An imbalance between visitors and site capacity can be negative for both visitors and local inhabitants, as well as accelerating the deterioration of the historic site’s fabric. Responsible heritage tourism management is now argued for, which interprets and respects a site’s value and allows economic integration with its environment. This management provides heritage

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<sup>146</sup> Salvador Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005), pp. 171-172.

<sup>147</sup> Hewison, p. 47.

<sup>148</sup> Lowenthal and Binney, pp. 217-218.

<sup>149</sup> Max Hanna, *Preserve and Prosper: The Wider Economic Benefits of Conserving Historic Buildings* (London: SAVE, 1983), p. 1.

<sup>150</sup> Aylin Orbasli, 'Is Tourism Governing Conservation in Historic Towns?', *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 6:3 (2000), 7-19 (p. 10).

tourism employment opportunities which assist indigenous people to remain in situ within their historic environment while also increasing interaction between them and tourists.<sup>151</sup>

More recent arguments concern awareness that, environmentally, new buildings continue to have a negative impact on the environment by depleting finite natural resources, increasing CO<sup>2</sup> emissions and impacting on climate change. Architectural conservation can provide a viable alternative to constructing new buildings through reuse and adaptation.<sup>152</sup> This alternative avoids the necessity to go through the wasteful process of demolition.<sup>153</sup> Recycling historic buildings through adaptive reuse is therefore now seen as an environmentally friendly option to limit energy and resource consumption.

Indeed, the motives to preserve architectural heritage, and every type of cultural heritage, are identical to those used in valuing it,<sup>154</sup> it is values that inform cultural significance and for this reason the values-based approach to conservation is established.<sup>155</sup> This approach aims to ‘preserve and where appropriate enhance values.’<sup>156</sup> However, it is not a straightforward process owing to it being challenging to capture the majority of values that architecture embodies on the one hand, and the conflicts that can arise between values that contribute to the overall significance on the other.<sup>157</sup> For example, preserving the aesthetic value of architecture leads to harming its age value. As architectural heritage can be ‘valued in myriad ways, for myriad reasons’<sup>158</sup> a significant amount of literature classifies values used in different typologies as shown in figure 2.01. What is important is that ‘these different ways of valuing in turn lead to different approaches to preserving heritage’.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Stubbs, p. 104.

<sup>152</sup> Barry Bridgwood, and Lindsay Lennie, *History, Performance and Conservation* (Oxon: Taylor & Francis, 2009), p. 317.

<sup>153</sup> Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Adaptive Reuse: preserving Our Past, Building Our Future* (Canberra: Department of the Environment and Heritage, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>154</sup> Stubbs, p. 51.

<sup>155</sup> Marta de la Torre, and Randall Mason, 'Introduction', in *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), pp. 3-4 (p. 3).

<sup>156</sup> Orbasli, *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice*, p. 38.

<sup>157</sup> Feilden, p. 6.

<sup>158</sup> Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre, 'Conclusions', in *Values and Heritage Conservation*, ed. by Erica Avrami, Randall Mason and Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), pp. 68-70 (p. 70).

<sup>159</sup> Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre, 'Values, Valorization, and Cultural Significance', in *Values and Heritage Conservation*, ed. by Erica Avrami, Randall Mason and Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), pp. 7-9 (p. 8).

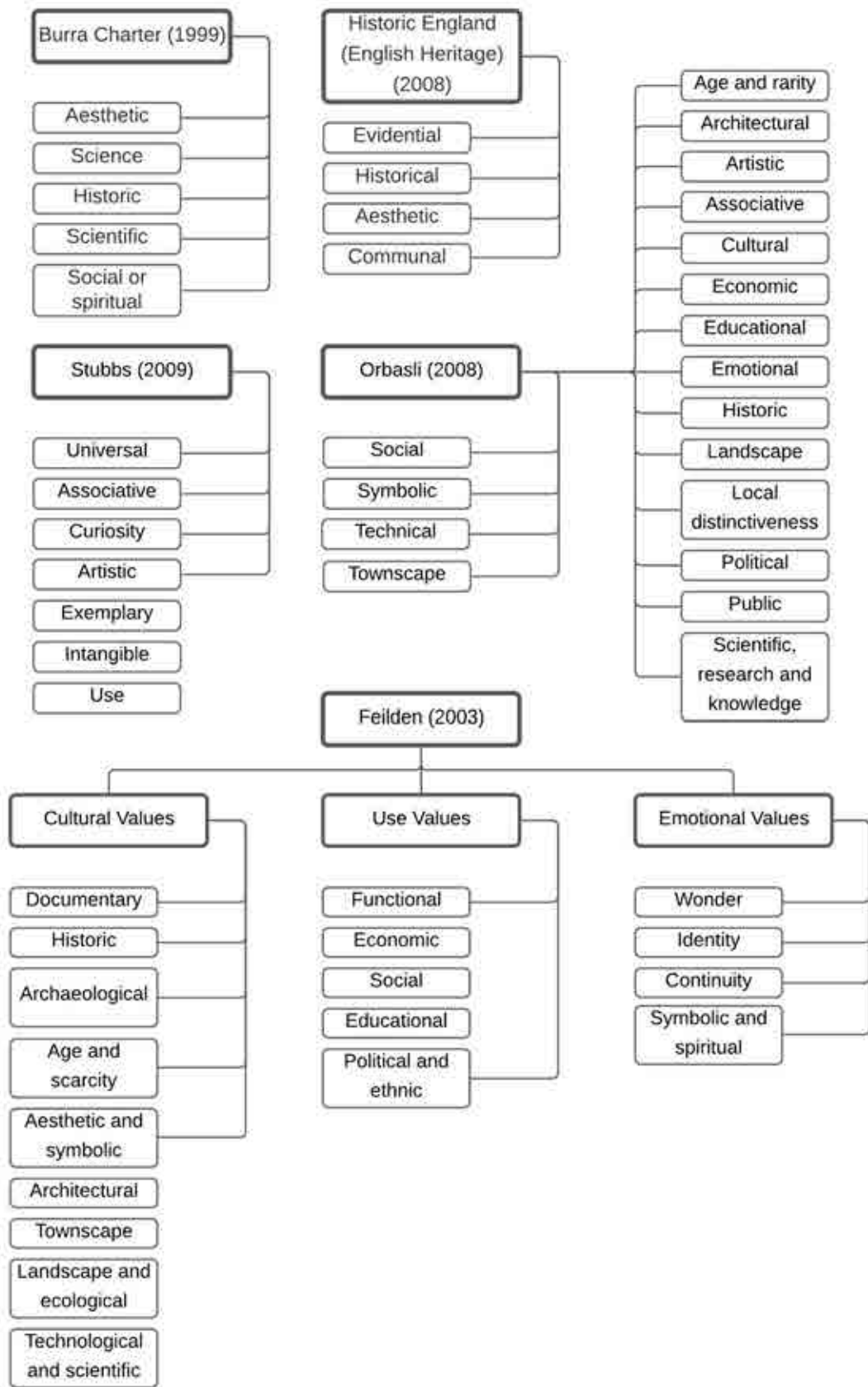


Figure 2.01: The typologies of value from selected literature.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Drawn by the author.

The motivations and selectivity of architectural heritage and its conservation are multifarious, driven by contemporary contexts of political, economic, social and cultural interests. However, while there are egalitarian and global/international motivations to conserve for the intellectual and cultural benefit of mankind, at a more fine-grained level the political struggle for state legitimacy and the uses of heritage to do this means that, even as patterns of architectural conservation evolve on the international stage, the intervention and practice of individual states has a significant cultural impact on the legacy of heritage within that nation with an implication for that society's identity, construction, stability, inclusivity, and integrity.

### **Conclusion**

The literature explored in this chapter points to different definitions and meanings of heritage, arguing that it is not tangibility or intangibility per se that provides the heritage status for selected resources from the past, but it is the political, social, and economic needs of the present. When these elements that contribute to the process of heritagization are changed, our heritage also evolves as new various meanings and interpretations are proffered.

Nationalistic interests has become adept at designing, making, and employing heritage to meet specific political needs, especially in terms of forming and maintaining the nation and its identity. In such a process, ethno-cultural symbols and resources, represented by traditions, symbols, values, memories, and myths, are essential, and the myths of origins and descent are frequently selected and deployed, owing to their ability to incorporate all of these ethnic symbols.

Architectural heritage, as signified through place, is one arena in which myths are constructed or associated with. It stimulates shared memories, emits symbols, maintains traditions, and contains embedded values and meanings. For this reason, architectural heritage is frequently made and used by political players to construct and maintain specific identities. The following chapters will show these uses in the Baghdadi context.

## Chapter 3

### Baghdad Colonial City and Early Heritage Formation

It was not in the architecture or personages of the Arabian nights that the enchantment lay; it was not the city of Haroun-al-Rothschild<sup>1</sup>, as I heard a soldier call it, or even of Nebuchadnezzar<sup>2</sup> that our troops wanted to see.<sup>3</sup>

Baghdad entered the twentieth century as a neglected Ottoman regional *Wilayat* (province) and shortly afterwards it was colonized by the British Empire in AD 1917. Nothing in the early twentieth century city elicited images from its past cultural glory as the capital of the Islamic world. Local Baghdadis, eastern and western travellers, British colonizing officials and troops have fully described the severe physical conditions of the city. The aims of this chapter are to introduce the place and the urban fabric of the Baghdad historic city in this period, to discuss how the concepts of its heritage officially evolved in terms of heritage identification, management and practice, and to discuss how these processes were manipulated by the British colonial power to focus on a particular ethnic identity to be used in the nation-building process in Iraq, and finally to explore the position of extant traditional institutions that own and manage the majority of heritage assets in the city.

#### Baghdad as an Ottoman *Wilayat*

##### Conditions in the city

It is generally accepted that working in Baghdad during the Ottoman's era (AD 1543-1917)<sup>4</sup> generated anxiety among the Ottoman Empire's officials. It was considered a

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<sup>1</sup> 'Haroun-al-Rothschild' as written in the original text, referred to *Harun al-Rashid* (the fifth Abbasid Caliph) during whose reign (AD 786-809) Baghdad reached its cultural zenith while considerable parts of the world were living in the dark ages.

<sup>2</sup> Nebuchadnezzar was the famous King of Babylon, during whose reign (605-562 BCE) the Babylonian Empire not only subjugated the Egyptians and the Assyrians, but controlled vast areas of Palestine and Syria. Two of whose distinguished achievements were the construction of the Ishtar Gate and the erection of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon which considered as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. It is noteworthy that Nebuchadnezzar's name was mentioned in various Judaism and Christian religious texts.

<sup>3</sup> Edmund Candler, *The Long Road to Baghdad*. Vol. 2 (London: Cassel and Company, Ltd, 1919), p.103.

<sup>4</sup> Ottomans were defeated by Persians in 1621 and therefore Baghdad controlled by the latter until 1638 when the former recaptured the city.

way of demeaning and isolating the Ottoman *Wali* (governors) owing to three facts connected with the city and its residents. First, the remoteness of the city from the Ottoman capital Istanbul; second, its non-Turkish inhabitants; and last its hostile climate.<sup>5</sup>

The disinterest of Ottoman officials in working in such a place constituted one of four geographical and administrative elements, which had severe consequences on the city and its infrastructure. The city itself was the greater Ottoman frontier towards Persia,<sup>6,7</sup> and therefore it was considered as a ‘sleepy backwater’ of the Empire. Third, the city tax revenues were not appropriated for maintaining basic municipal services or conducting new projects in the city, but instead an annual fixed tax amount was sent to the Ottoman central treasury in Istanbul. Lastly, gross misconduct and extensive corruption were routinely present among civil officials in the city.<sup>8</sup>

Baghdadi resident Amin Mumayiz acknowledged in his book *Baghdad as I knew it* that prior to the First World War everything in the city was abysmal and primitive, that there was not a single paved road or alleyway in the city, and that instead rivers of mire generated after each rain forced Baghdadi residents to employ porters to carry them on their backs when moving from one place to another within the city. Even the Government buildings were inundated in such events<sup>9</sup>, and in AD 1926 the well-known English author Vita Sackville-West visited the city and commented:

...anyone who goes to Bagdad in search for romance will be disappointed. Bagdad is a dusty jumble of mean buildings connected by atrocious streets, quagmires of mud in rainy weather, and in dry weather a series of pits and holes over which an English farmer might well hesitate to drive a waggon.”<sup>10</sup>

This description of the city was not confined solely to the beginning of the twentieth century, and is widely accepted to apply to all periods after the Mongol invasion and

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<sup>5</sup> Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950: A Political, Social and Economic History* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Persia was considered a rival neighbouring empire by which Baghdad had been occupied several times prior to the Ottoman era.

<sup>7</sup> James Silk Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia* (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), p. 383.

<sup>8</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, *The Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1, 4, 49.

<sup>9</sup> Amin Mumayiz, *Baghdad as I Knew It* (Baghdad: Dar Afac Arabia for Journalism and Publishing 1985), pp. 39-48.

<sup>10</sup> Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* (Heathfield: Cockbird Press, 1990), pp. 58-59.

the fall of Baghdad as a capital of the Islamic world in AD 1258.<sup>11</sup> At this historic juncture, the city began its decline when the entire irrigation system of the region was destroyed by the Mongols and was Baghdad deprived of a crucial element of its economic dependence.<sup>12</sup>

The state of decline in the city was described by the travellers John Kinneir and James Buckingham in AD 1810 and AD 1816 respectively as follows:

Baghdad is, upon the whole, a meanly built city. Few of the ancient buildings remain. Those, however, which have bid defiance to the ravages of time and the destructive hand of the Turks, are much superior, both in elegance and solidity, to the modern structure.<sup>13</sup>

The interior of the town offers fewer objects of interest than one would expect from its celebrity as an oriental emporium of wealth and magnificence.<sup>14</sup>

### **Documenting the city**

Poor mapping of the city and its fabric constitutes a persistent problem facing architects, urban designers, and heritage experts interested in Baghdad's spatial history. Historically, few attempts were made to map the city and its fabric during the period between the Ottoman occupation of the city in AD 1534 and the British in AD 1917, and Baghdad has just a handful of maps from within this timeframe. The first one was drawn in AD 1537 by Nassouh Almraca, who accompanied the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman Kanuni in his campaign to capture the city. Although the map is very abstract, Almraca illustrated and relatively pinpointed the location of heritage items of architectural or historical significance such as the Mosques and tombs. More importantly, the map showed the significance of Rusafa as a thriving historical core in comparison with Kharh in terms of its area and the number of heritage elements in each district. The walls of Rusafa were illustrated with three of the four existing city gates: Sultan Gate, Kiloatha Gate, Whastani Gate. Talsum Gate was omitted from the map probably owing to its closure at the time of Almraca's visit. Interestingly, the

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<sup>11</sup> Abdul Al Karim Allaf, *The Old Baghdad*. ed. by Ibrahim Allowaath. 2nd edn (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1999), p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Çetinsaya, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> John Macdonald Kinneir, *Geographic Memoir of the Persian Empire* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1813), p. 249.

<sup>14</sup> Buckingham, p. 373.



map shows that there was another wall in the north west of Rusafa, a quarter-circle in shape, separating the core from the military base which was used to defend the city.<sup>15</sup>

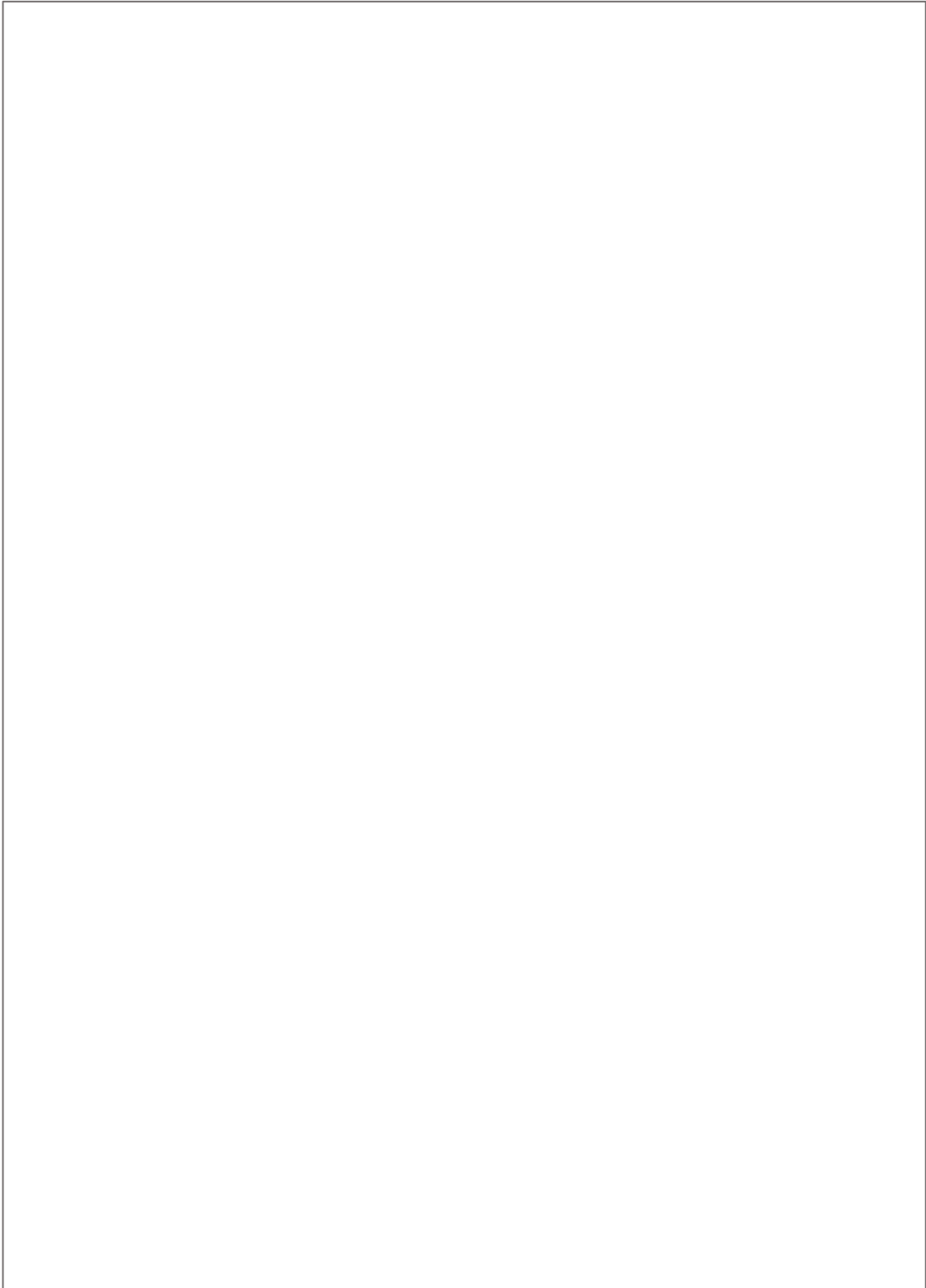


Figure 3.01: Map of Baghdad in AD 1537 by Nassouh Almraca.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Mustafa Jawad, and Ahmed Susa, 'Planning Baghdad in Its Different Eras', in *Baghdad*, ed. by Mohammed Makia (London: Alwarrak Publishing Ltd., 2009), pp. 11-98 (p. 77).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

It was only in the last quarter of the seventeenth century that Baghdad generally, and Rusafa in particular, had relatively accurate maps in terms of defining its geography. The traveller Jean Tavernier drew a map in AD 1676 which illustrates Baghdad's borders but not the fabric inside the city. Rusafa is shown encircled by great walls equipped with towers and four gates. The map also shows that the military base had been developed as a citadel, a distinct walled form in the North West of Rusafa<sup>17</sup>. The border of Kharh were poorly mapped and its walls absent. It is noteworthy that an almost identical map to that of Tavernier was published by Allain Mallet in the book *Description De L'univers*.<sup>18</sup>

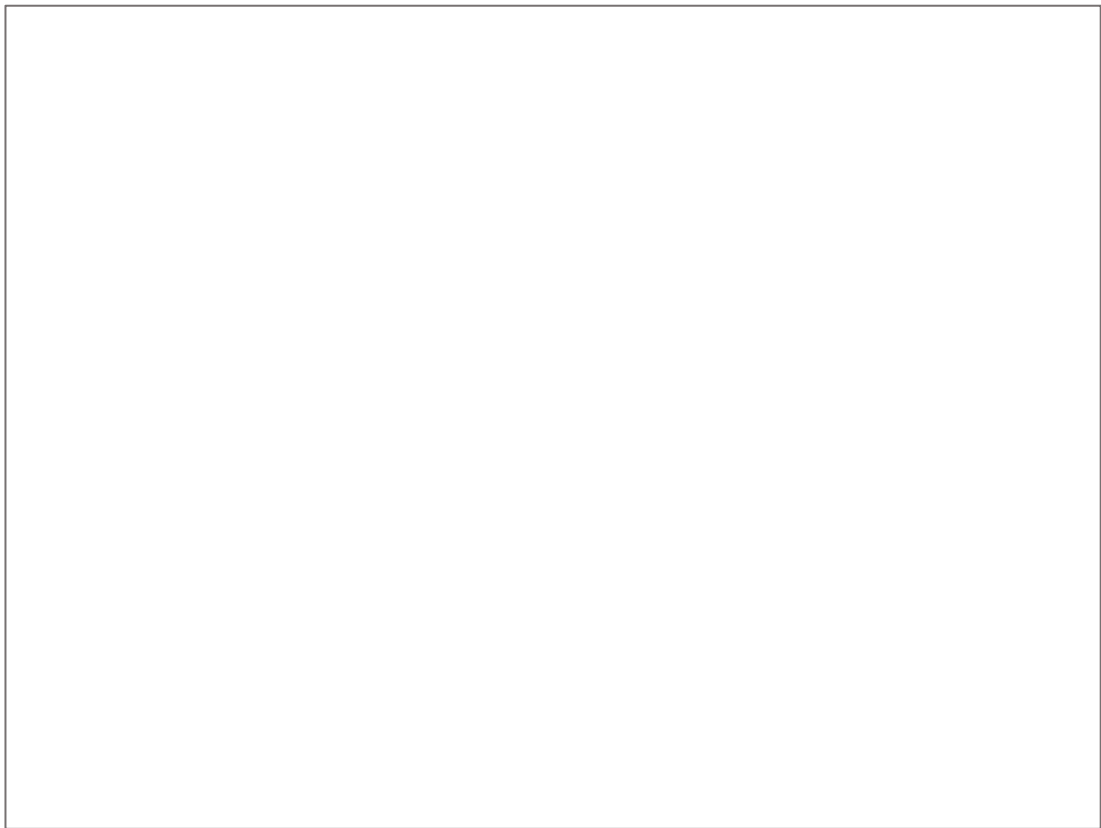


Figure 3.02: Map of Baghdad in AD 1676 by Jean Tavernier.<sup>19</sup>

Locating the citadel at a strategic position within the city (on the bank of the Tigris River in the case of Rusafa) was one of the main urban planning characteristics of Arabic Islamic cities. Being attached and separated from the city by a fortified wall,

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<sup>17</sup> Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages De Jean Baptiste Tavernier ... En Turquie, En Perse, Et Aux Indes, Pendant L'espace De Quarante Ans ... Accompagnez D'observations Particulieres Sur La Qualité, La Religion, Le Gouvernement, Les Coûtumes & Le Commerce De Chaque Pais, Avec Les Figures, Le Poids, & La Valeur Des Monnoyes Qui Y Ont Cours*. Vol. 1 (Paris: G. Clouzier, 1676), p. 214.

<sup>18</sup> Allain Manesson Mallet, *Description De L'univers* (Paris: Denys Thierry, 1683), p. 239.

<sup>19</sup> Tavernier, p. 214.

having its own mosque and accommodating the majority of military personnel provided the citadel with a semi-independent status. Consequently, it acted as a designated refuge for the Wali, allowing him to suppress any potential public unrest, resist an outsider attack even after the fall of the city and offer a safe passage to escape in the worst case scenario.<sup>20</sup>

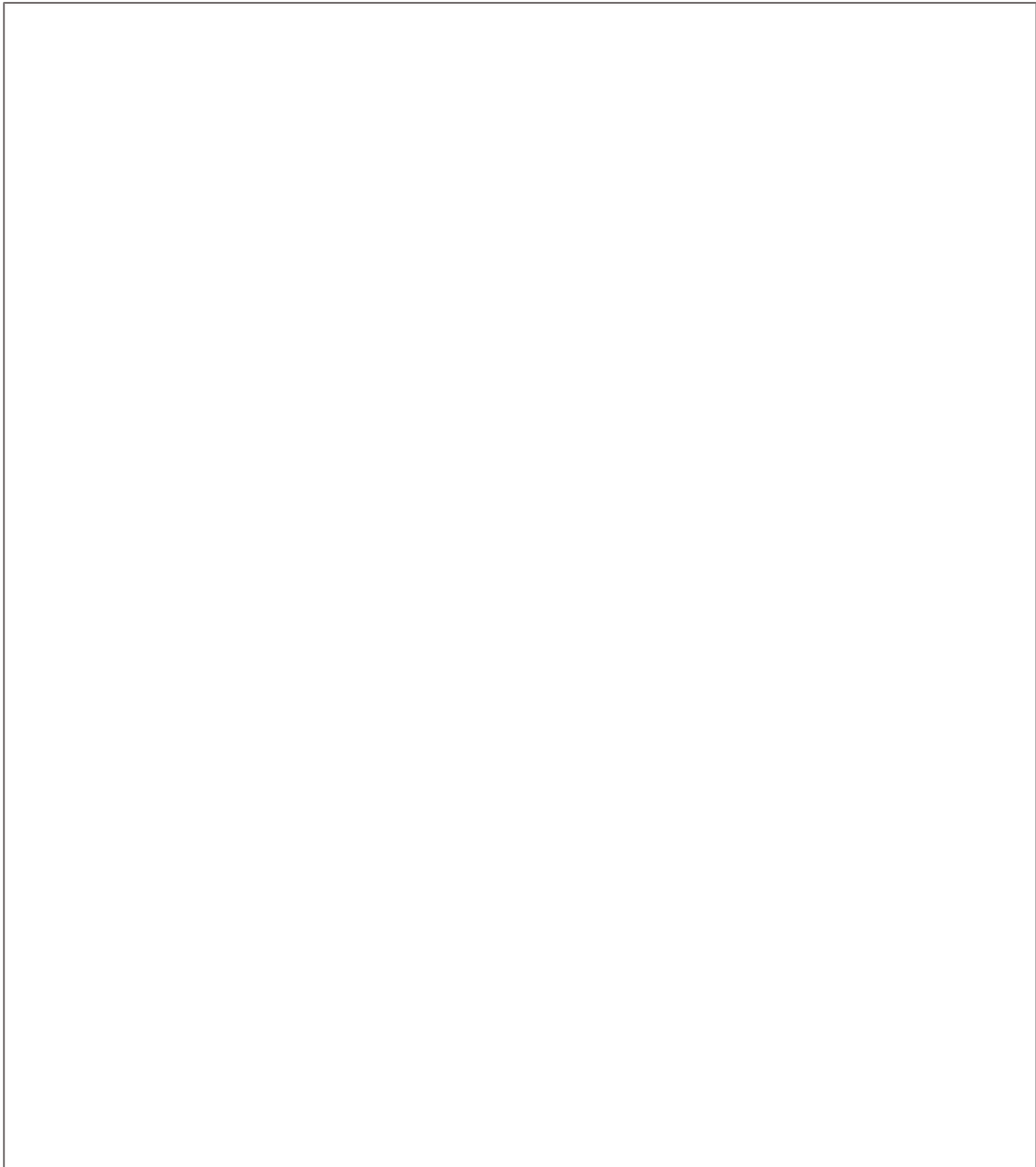


Figure 3.03: Map of Baghdad in AD 1683 by Allain Mallet.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles* (London: KPI, 1986), p. 57.

<sup>21</sup> Mallet, p. 239.

Another contemporary axonometric map was drawn by the traveller Olfert Dapper in AD 1680. As Rusafa was projected from the East, the city walls, towers, and Gates are clearly illustrated. Albeit not a very accurate map, it presents some significant architecture within the city, the dominance of domes and minarets, and the characteristic form of a Citadel and its spatial relationship to the city as a whole. Similar to the previous maps, Kharh was poorly presented.<sup>22</sup>

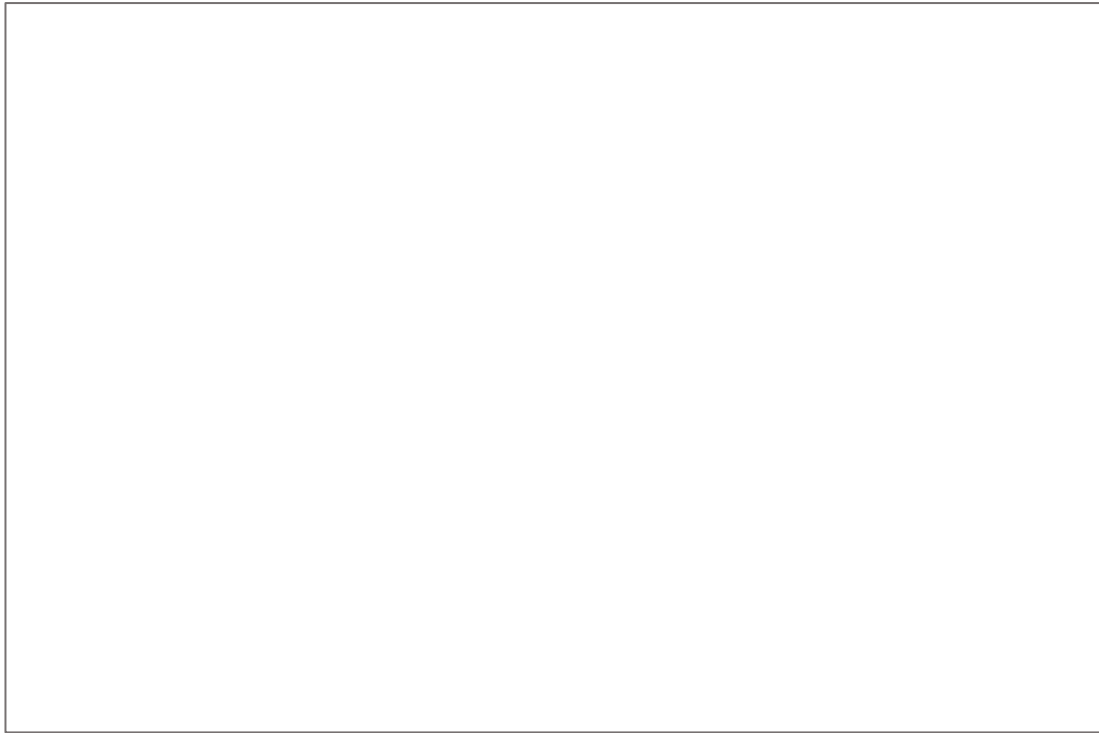


Figure 3.04: Map of Baghdad in Olfert Dapper in AD 1680.<sup>23</sup>

The first attempt to map the fabric of the city was undertaken by the traveller C. Niebuhr in AD 1766. The map shows the boundaries of each *Mahalla* (neighbourhood) on both sides of the city, and significant buildings and places in Rusafa, including the Sarai building, the Citadel, Mustansiriya Madrasa, and Al-Ghazil Suq. In addition, the Rusfa wall, with its four Gates<sup>24</sup> and ten large towers, are well-presented.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschryving Van Asie; Behelsende De Gewesten Van Mesopotamie, Babylonie, Assyrie, Anatolie, of Klein Asie, Beneffens Eene Volkome Beschrijving Van Gansch Gelukkigh, Woest, En Petreesch of Steenigh Arabie* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1680), p. 120.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> It is noteworthy that Al-Talasin Gate was permanently closed after the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV passed through it after whose capture of the city in 1638. It was considered as a way of commemorating the Sultan by prohibiting any one from passing through it after him.

<sup>25</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between the Years 1886 and 1913*. Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1920), pp 204-205.



Figure 3.05: Map of Baghdad in AD 1766 by C. Niebuhr.<sup>26</sup>

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Baghdad had a semi-detailed map, made by Captain Jones in AD 1853-1854. All Baghdadi *Mahallas* and their names, roads, the location of significant buildings, and the City Walls and Gates of Ruafa and Kharh<sup>27</sup> were recorded in this map. Indeed, it is the most accurate map produced during the Ottoman period, but it still lacks details of the built fabric within individual *Mahallas*.<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly, the first map of Baghdad in the beginning of twentieth century was conducted by the Ottoman officer Rashid Al-Khoja in AD 1908<sup>29</sup>. It is relatively identical to Jones' map, but it is clear from the later map that traces of significant parts of Kharh's wall had been lost. Ironically, the last map to be produced during the Ottoman era was conducted by the British Admiralty Staff for military purposes. Even though the British National Archives dated the map as AD 1919<sup>30</sup>, it is highly likely that the map was surveyed prior to AD 1916 owing to the fact that New (Rashid) Street, which was constructed between AD 1916 and 1917, was not recorded.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>27</sup> New City Wall of Karkh, which showed four Gates, was built in 1822 by Suleiman Pasha who was the Wali of Baghdad. For this reason, these did not appear in the previous maps.

<sup>28</sup> James Felix Jones, *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia, 1857: Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government* (Buckinghamshire, UK: Archive Editions, 1998).

<sup>29</sup> Ahmed Sousa, *Atlas Baghdad* (Baghdad: The General Directorate of survey 1952), p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), FO 925/17106: City of Baghdad. 1:10, 560. Admiralty (1919).

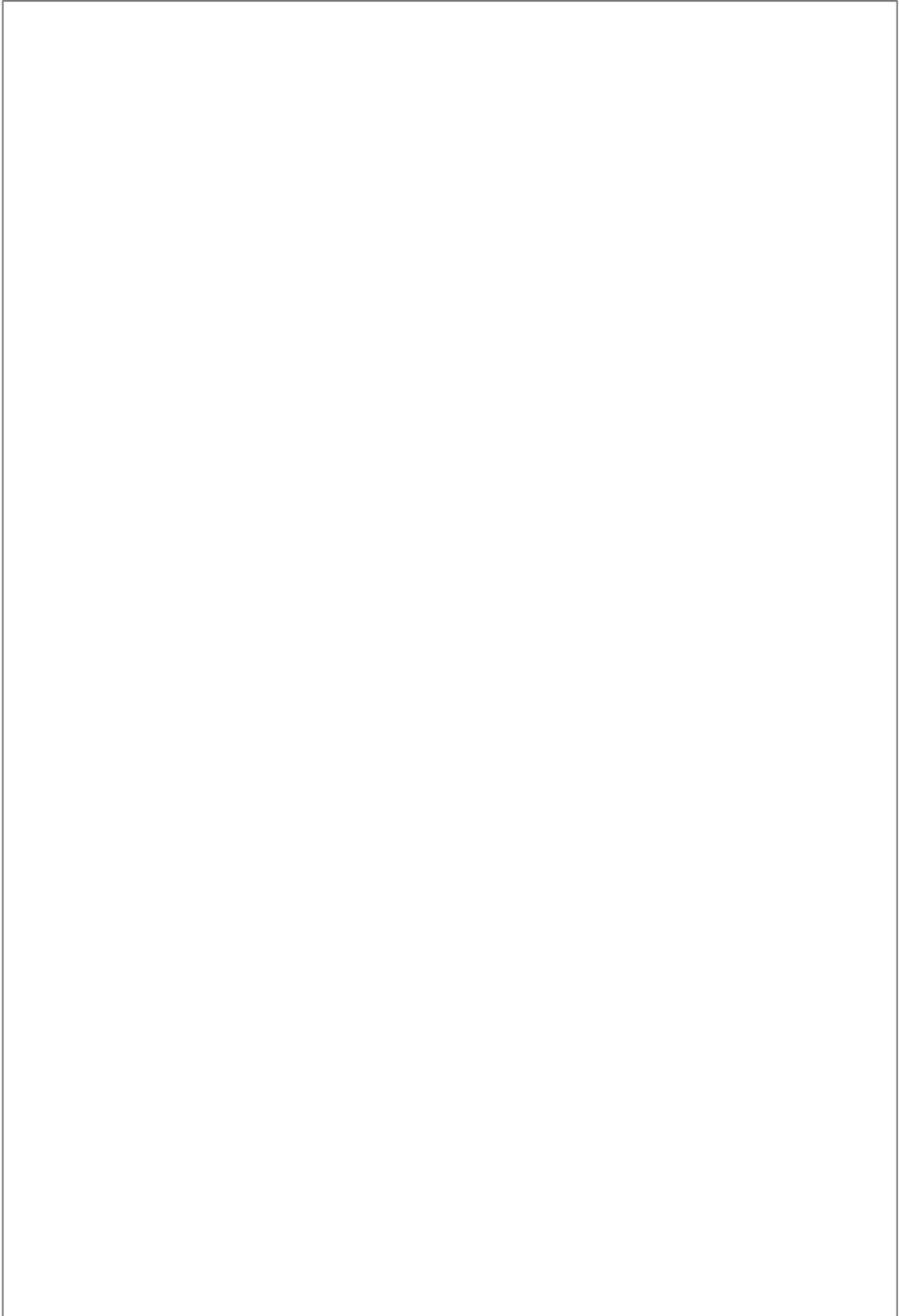


Figure 3.06: Map of Baghdad in AD 1853-1854 by Captain Jones.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Jones.

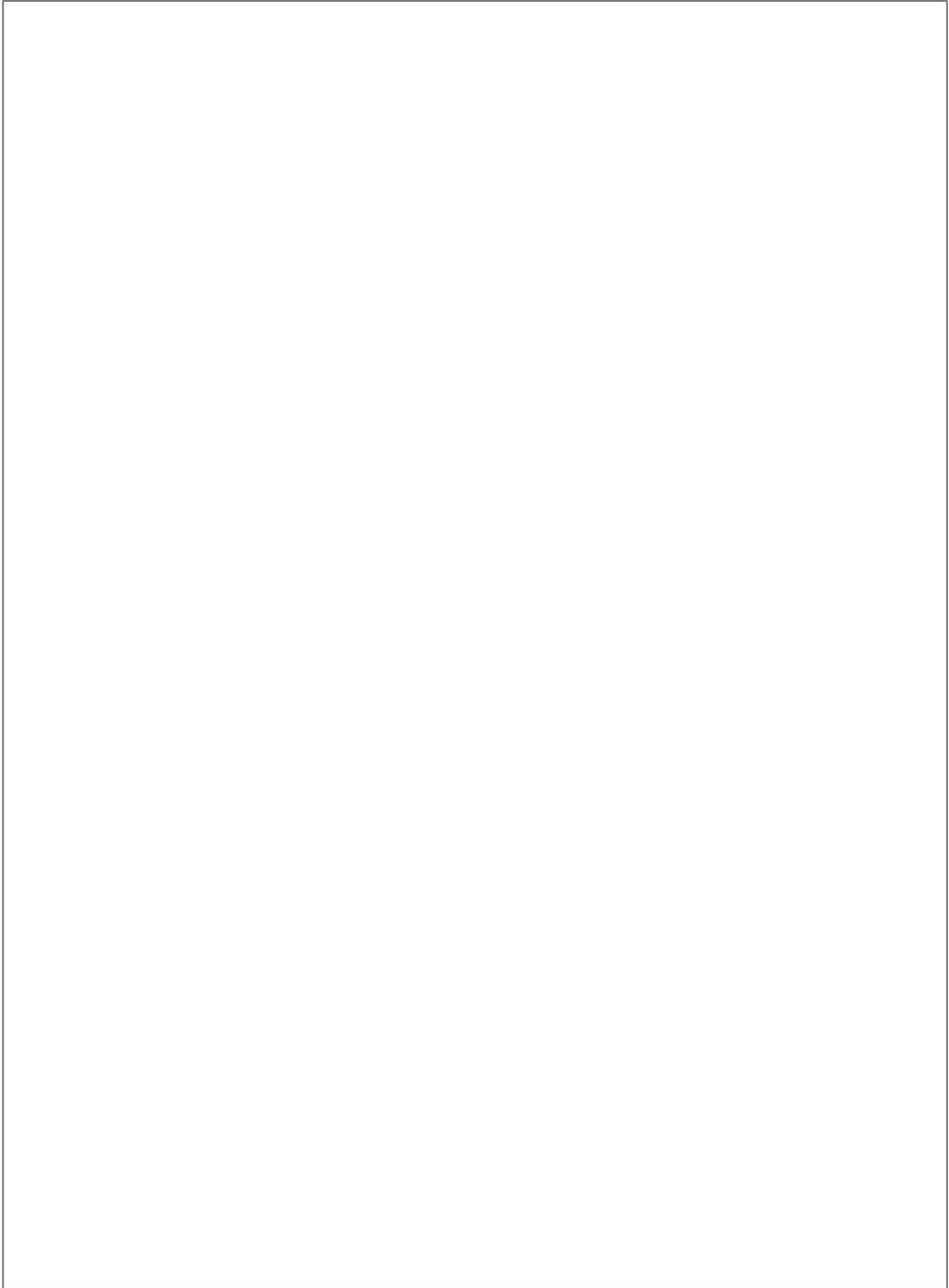


Figure 3.07: Map of Baghdad in AD 1908 by Rashid Al-Khoja.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Sousa, p. 16.

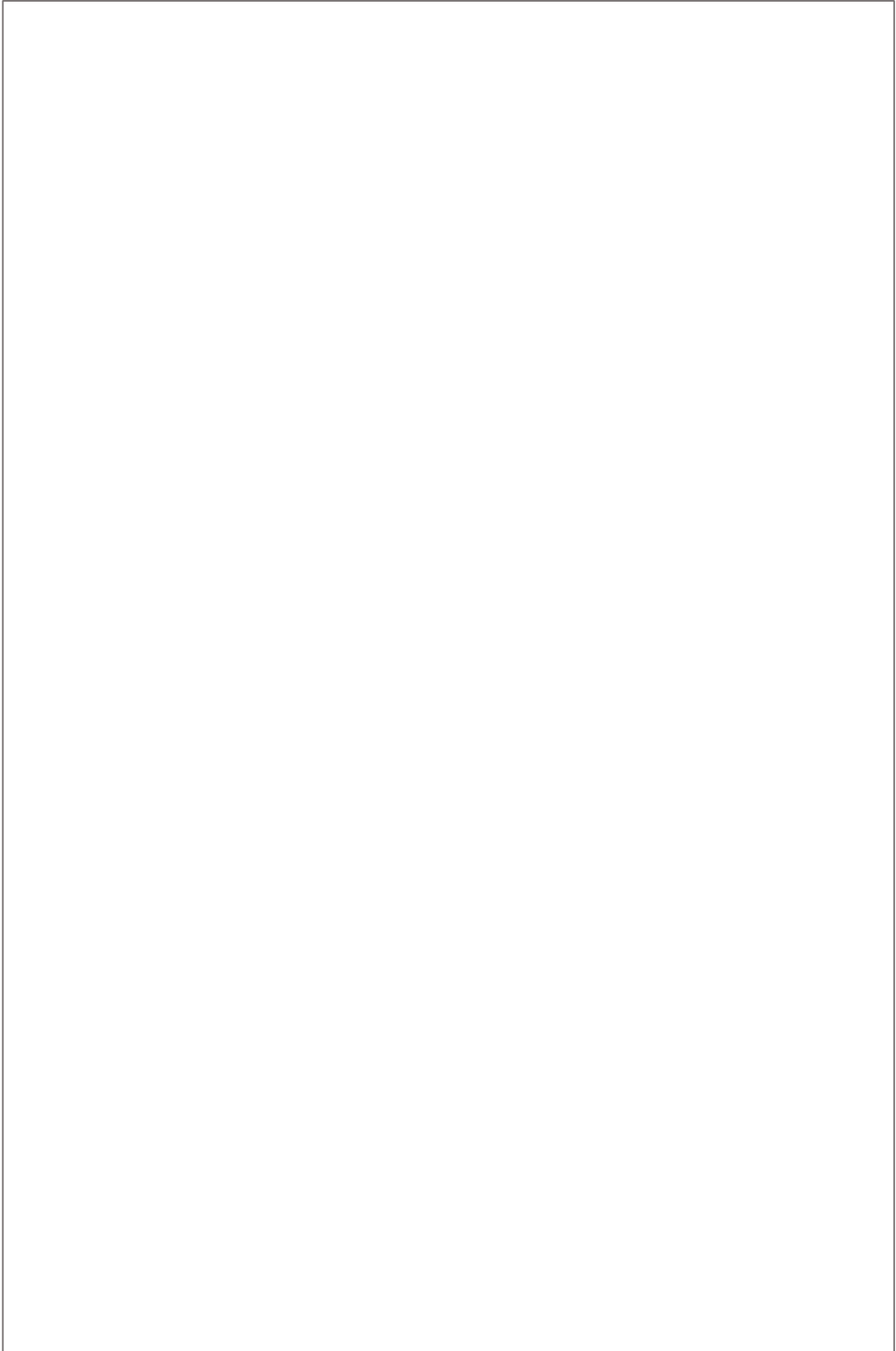


Figure 3.08: Map of Baghdad drawn shortly prior to AD 1916 by the British Admiralty Staff.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), FO 925/17106: City of Baghdad. 1:10, 560. Admiralty (1919).



Other evidence to support this is the Talsuim City Gate which is recorded on the map, and annotated as the Powder Magazine Store. The Gate was blown up by the Ottomans when they withdrew from the city in AD 1917<sup>34</sup>. The map provides crucial information about the physical state of the City Wall, the accurate locations of where the wall had been partially or significantly demolished, and possible billeting, the majority of which were spacious buildings of architectural significance, to accommodate the British troops.

### **Other spatial records**

In the absence of sufficient maps and drawings to reveal the urban history of the city, Iman Al-Attar, an Iraqi architect, attempts to fill the gap in her commendable work *Baghdad: An Urban History through the Lens of Literature*. She explores the urban history of the city by employing in depth text analysis, examining and interrogating old books and poetries pertaining to the city.<sup>35</sup> However, one of the negative aspects of the methodology is that Arabic language is replete with rhetoric and imagery. Khalid Kishtainy asserts ‘Arabic is an abstract and rhythmic language, full of rhetoric and ancient imagery’.<sup>36</sup> Therefore the literature pertaining to the city, especially poetry, mostly exaggerates specific incidents based on the poets’ perspective. This provides an inaccurate account of the urban history of the city.

Another crucial part of Baghdad’s negative inheritance from the Ottoman era, and related to the challenge of the poor quality of city mapping, is the partial absence of the *Tapu*<sup>37</sup> (or Land Registry) at the beginning of the twentieth century. This had severe negative consequences for the heritage of the city. Enacted in AD 1858 in Istanbul and implemented in Baghdad in AD 1869 by the enthusiastic Wali Midhat Pasha, the Land law<sup>38</sup> and its *Tapu* does not provide an accurate spatial reference<sup>39</sup>. In theory, the role of the *Tapu* was to organize and protect property ownerships, but in practice the *Tapu* lacked both maps and surveyors. Moreover, corruption within the

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<sup>34</sup> Basheer Francis, *Baghdad, Its History and Antiquities* (Baghdad: General Directorate of Antiquities, Al rabita press, 1959), p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Iman Al-Attar, *Baghdad: An Urban History through the Lens of Literature* (London & New York: Routledge, 2019), p. xi.

<sup>36</sup> Saddam Hussein, *Saddam Hussein on Current Events in Iraq*. trans. Khalid Kishtainy (London: Longman, 1977), p. vii.

<sup>37</sup> *Tapu* is a Turkish word and still in use in the Iraqi context, it has two meanings: first is equivalent to the Land Registry office in the UK, second is the Title Deed of the land.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*. 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>39</sup> Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 317.

*Tapu* exacerbated the situation and many title deeds were drawn up for lands with vague boundaries, unknown locations or unlawful ownerships.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, the *Tapu* records, such as they were, were lost by the act of a few locals or by the Ottomans when they withdrew from the city:

In the official sphere, things were hardly made easier by the Turks' removal of all relevant documents dealing with the law, private property, leases, etc., upon which civilized existence leans in its daily course.<sup>41</sup>

When we entered, the riff-raff of the city were carrying off shutters and benches, heavy bedsteads, wood and iron mantling, the seats and balustrades of public gardens. Everything easily movable had been removed.<sup>42</sup>

### **Heritage in the Ottoman city**

Despite the city's neglect over the centuries, two notable additions (with contrasting consequences for Baghdad's architectural heritage) are worth mentioning. First, a number of Ottoman Mosques<sup>43</sup> named after the *Walis* who built them, for example Hussain Pasha Mosque,<sup>44</sup> Ahmadiya Mosque<sup>45</sup> and Haider Khana Mosque,<sup>46</sup> and second, the redevelopment of the Ottoman compound in the city.

Despite sometimes being built on the sites of earlier Abbasid Mosques, the Ottoman Mosques lacked architectural quality in comparison to their contemporaries, built in the Ottoman capital Istanbul. A reason for this was that Baghdad mosques were designed by the Corps of Court Architect in Istanbul and it was difficult to disseminate detailed drawings of the design. Instead, a locally assigned *usta*<sup>47</sup> made most decisions during construction and these could significantly differ from the concept and intention of the Corps of Court Architect. Moreover, aesthetic uniformity was absent within the office of the Corps of Court Architect due to the way in which significance was attached to various projects and sites. Projects proposed to be constructed in *Wilayats*

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<sup>40</sup> Fakhri Al-Zubaidi, *Baghdad from 1900 to 1934*. Vol. 1 (Baghdad: Dar Alharia for printing 1990), p 11.

<sup>41</sup> Richard Coke, *Baghdad, the City of Peace* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1927), p. 296.

<sup>42</sup> Candler, p. 100.

<sup>43</sup> Sponsored by local *Awqaf*. Full discussion about Waqf discourse is presented below in this chapter.

<sup>44</sup> Built by the Wali of Baghdad Siahdar Hussain Pasha in the middle of seventeenth century.

<sup>45</sup> Constructed by the Wali of Baghdad Ahmad Pasha in A D 1796.

<sup>46</sup> Built by the Wali of Baghdad Daud Pasha in A D 1817-1827.

<sup>47</sup> An *usta* is a senior builder or a teacher of traditional building techniques, before Modernity and the advent of trained architects from the West, an *usta* fulfilled the position in Baghdad.

had less significance than those in the capital and therefore received less attention from the Istanbul-based architects.<sup>48</sup> As one visitor to Baghdad commented in AD 1842:

On the whole there are few structures deserving of notice; and it may be remarked as singular in so celebrated a capital, that not above twenty-four minarets and about dozen domes, none of them remarkable for beauty or great size, are to be counted within the precincts of the western division.<sup>49</sup>

The Ottoman compound was also notable since the redevelopment cost of this was the demolition of what remained an important Abbasid period structure: the city walls. Constructed in high quality furnace bricks<sup>50</sup>, which exceeded the quality of those made locally in the nineteenth century,<sup>51</sup> the city walls were demolished and their salvaged bricks used to refurbish the *Sarai* buildings<sup>52</sup> to construct another floor to the *Qushla*,<sup>53,54</sup> and to be sold to fund military expenses.<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, while the majority of the city's buildings were, individually, architecturally insignificant, especially the unremarkable Ottoman mosques and other new-built low quality buildings, the significance of the Baghdadi architecture did not stem from any sole building, but from groups of buildings, the relationship between buildings, and thus the city form and fabric as a whole. The aesthetic value of Baghdad as a city was commented on by those who criticised the city as being architecturally insignificant.

My impressions of Baghdad, in spite of all detraction, are of a kind of mournful beauty. Those who deny the city's charm should see the broad sweep of the river front from the north at sunset, when the mosques and blue-tiled minarets are echeloned, as it were, and catch the slant rays of sun.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Aptullah Kuan, 'Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and in the Provinces', in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies: A Symposium Held by the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, ed. by M.B. Sevckenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1988), pp. 13-22 (pp. 13-14).

<sup>49</sup> J. Baillie Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court; and Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1842), p. 269.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.270

<sup>51</sup> Coke, p. 274.

<sup>52</sup> The majority of the Public offices during the Ottoman period were located within the walls of the *Sarai*.

<sup>53</sup> The Ottoman military barracks.

<sup>54</sup> Sharif Yusuf, *The History of Iraqi Architecture's Art in Different Periods*. ed. by Ihsan Fethi (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research & Publishing, 2014), p. 570.

<sup>55</sup> Coke, p. 274.

<sup>56</sup> Candler, p. 112.

The houses which line its banks share the inevitable picturesqueness of all houses lining a waterway.<sup>57</sup>

Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Baghdad still had a relatively intact pre-modern urban fabric. Its historical core idealized that of medieval Arabic Islamic cities in terms of essential urban components, including the *Mesjid al-jami* (Mosque), the Governor's palace, the Citadel, the *Suqs* (markets) and *Mahallas* (neighbourhoods); and in terms of layout, with each component interconnected through an intricate network of narrow, hemmed in, alleyways whose pattern was dictated by religious, social, environmental and functional requirements.<sup>58</sup> Spatially, the central Mosque was surrounded by a ring of interconnected *Suqs*, complemented socially by *Hammams* (public baths), *Madrasas* (schools) and *khans* that provided all necessary services for the Mosque and shops. Bianca emphasizes that these components appear to be "under one roof" and he draws an analogy between the Islamic city and a spacious coherent single mansion where the mosque represents the main living room, the madrasa and the khans the teaching and the guest rooms, and the Suqs the connecting internal corridors.<sup>59</sup>

Such everyday spaces, the backdrop to Baghdadi daily life arguably had intrinsic, but no extrinsic, heritage value, not least because there was no official body to identify heritage within the city, nor a single designated heritage building in Baghdad at the beginning of twentieth century. One reason for this was the fact that the Baghdad *wilaya* followed the antiquities legislation of the Ottoman Empire. Four Ottoman Decrees were enacted in AD 1869, AD 1874, AD 1884 and AD 1906; and these primarily regulated the excavation of ancient sites and stated the ownership right of discovered and undiscovered antiquities within the Empire<sup>60</sup>. Even though the Ottoman law of antiquities of 1906 pronounced that all antiquities were the property of the Imperial Government and the exporting of these were prohibited, special commercial excavation licences were given to Western countries generally and Germany in

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<sup>57</sup> Sackville-West, p. 58.

<sup>58</sup> Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles*. 2nd edn (Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 57, 63-67.

<sup>59</sup> Stefano Bianca, *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), pp. 143-48.

<sup>60</sup> Sibel Ozel, 'Under the Turkish Blanket Legislation: The Recovery of Cultural Property Removed from Turkey', *International Journal of Legal Information the Official Journal of the International Association of Law Libraries*, 38 (2010), 177-84 (pp. 178-79).

particular in this period. In Babylon, in Mesopotamia<sup>61</sup>, for example, significant number of antiquities, such as the Ishtar Gate (discovered by a German archaeologist), were shipped to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin,<sup>62</sup> as was the Pergamon from Miletus in the Mediterranean which gave the Museum its name.<sup>63</sup>

However, the enforcement of these legislations was far from being successful on the ground, and given the fact that Mesopotamian archaeological sites were left unguarded, the amount of archaeological finds taken by Western expeditions and sent back to their respective countries reached unprecedented levels which should now be considered as tantamount to a systematic robbery of the region. Magnus Bernhardsson argues that:

Iraq had suffered, if not the most, one of the most extensive plunderings of antiquities in the nineteenth century in all of the Middle East. This rapine was primarily due to the isolation of archaeological activity from governmental supervision, Western imperial competition, and lack of organized local concerns. The various Ottoman antiquities legislation (especially the 1874 and 1884 laws) utterly failed to oversee archaeological activities in the Empire, primarily because of the absence of any form of enforcement authority. Most of the excavations in Ottoman times were hasty and ill-recorded, and the finds were not properly guarded.<sup>64</sup>

In the absence of official mechanisms to identify the architectural heritage in Baghdad, the early limited attempts to identify it were made by European travellers and archaeologists who visited the city. The former identified the architectural heritage of the city based mainly on historical value, and despite their work being produced without photographic evidence, valuable descriptions of historical Mosques, Tombs, Khans, Madrasas, and the City Gates were provided by Kinneir, Buckingham and Fraser in AD 1810, AD 1816 and AD 1842 respectively. The most distinctive work was conducted in AD 1853-1854 by a Captain Jones who compiled a list of more than 500 monuments in Baghdad<sup>65</sup>. Although his list did not include architectural descriptions

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<sup>61</sup> Mesopotamia is the ancient geographic name of Iraq, it was the name used by Western countries prior to AD 1921 to refer to the geographic area of Iraq.

<sup>62</sup> *Mesopotamian Antiquities*, British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, Ior/L/PS/18/B366', Qatar Digital Library, (<[http://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc\\_100000000833.0x000368](http://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100000000833.0x000368)> [Accessed 15 May 2017]).

<sup>63</sup> Jokilehto Jukka, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), p. 191.

<sup>64</sup> Magnus Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), p. 125.

<sup>65</sup> Jones.

or evidence about construction dates, it has been considered a significant source to trace and identify Baghdadi heritage until the present day.

Archaeologists meanwhile identified and categorised Baghdad's architectural heritage based on archaeological grounds. The first published survey of Baghdadi architectural heritage (AD 1911) was conducted by Sarre and Herzfeld as part of the first comprehensive archaeological survey of Iraq in its entirety, and Baghdad has a relatively small dedicated chapter section. Despite being confined to few significant ancient monuments in the city, a large number of architectural drawings and photographs were produced<sup>66</sup>. Meanwhile, *Mission En Mesopotamie*, a noteworthy work based on Arabic and non-Arabic literary materials, was conducted. By exploiting religious buildings' engraved manuscripts, it was possible to identify and document – albeit poorly – a number of significant mosques and tombs in the city.<sup>67</sup>

Since it was solely defined by Westerners, it is my contention that Baghdad's architectural heritage was overlooked in the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth centuries, as it was often overshadowed and even dwarfed in interest by that of the distinctive earlier civilizations of Mesopotamia. The overwhelming interest of the West in Mesopotamia at that time can be attributed to three reasons. First, Mesopotamian identity was essential in establishing the Western narrative of the progress of civilization, the core of that narrative being that Mesopotamia is the land in which the first writing was invented, the first laws enacted, and first architecture constructed. These 'firsts' of cultural practices, which constituted a 'torch of civilization', then subsequently not only 'passed' from the Orient to the Graeco-Roman sphere, but were considered as the infantile stage of the culture of humanity.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, it is the land of the cradle of civilization, and from it the 'birth' of civilization took place, but never developed according to the narrative of progress. Instead, the

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<sup>66</sup> Friedrich Sarre, and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise Im Euphrat- Und Tigris-Gebiet*. Vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag Von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1911), pp. 34-51.

<sup>67</sup> Louis Massignon, *Mission En Mesopotamie (1907-1908)* (Le Caire Imprimerie De L'Institut Francais D'Archeologie Orientale 1912).

<sup>68</sup> Zainab Bahrani, 'Conjuring Mesopotamia: Imaginative Geography and a World Past', in *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 159-74 (pp. 161-62).

significant development was achieved during what is known as the Bronze Age in the West.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to searching for the ‘roots’ of Western culture, verifying the Bible as a valid historical religious document constitutes the second reason. Zainab Bahrani argues that tracing and excavating the Biblical land of Mesopotamia was consequential owing to the Western urge to prove the notion that ‘the Judeo-Christian God was the true God’.<sup>70</sup> Narratives and places associated with the Old and New Testaments were the arena of that interest, such as the Garden of Eden, the Great Flood, and the great ancient cities of Babylon, Nineveh,<sup>71</sup> and Ur, which was considered Abraham’s birthplace.<sup>72</sup>

This not only made Baghdad irrelevant to the Western verification of the Bible, but all Islamic heritage in Mesopotamia, and within this context significant ‘Islamic sites and history were overlooked and deemed neither valuable nor relevant’<sup>73</sup>.

Third, the colonial and imperial powers of this period regarded sending the archaeological remains of other regions of the world, notably the last vestiges of the great ancient civilizations, back to their national museums as a matter of national pride and technological advancement. Ian Hodder, argues that neither those powers nor anyone could ‘possess the past’, but they created a legal framework which regulates the ownership of its materiality. Therefore, they could own and culturally appropriate material relics from the ancient past.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ian Hodder, 'The Past as Passion and Play: Çatalhöyük as a Site of Conflict in the Construction of Multiple Pasts', in *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 124-39 (p. 126).

<sup>70</sup> Bahrani, pp. 159-74 (pp. 164-66).

<sup>71</sup> Desmond Stewart, and John Haylock, *New Babylon: A Portrait of Iraq* (London: Collins, 1956), pp. 136, 141, 144.

<sup>72</sup> Josephine Kamm, *Gertrude Bell: Daughter of the Desert* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1956), p. 178.

<sup>73</sup> Bernhardsson, p. 11.

<sup>74</sup> Ian Hodder, 'Sustainable Time Travel: Toward a Global Politics of the Past', in *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context*, ed. by Susan Kane (USA: Archaeological Institute of America, 2003), pp. 139-47. (p. 139).

## Baghdad as a British Colony and a Capital of a Nascent State

### The impact of Western imperialism

Heritage cannot be studied without taking the socio-geopolitical environment of the city and the region into consideration. Its destiny to be a British colony was decided in May 1916 even before the capture of the city by the British forces. A large geographical area belonged to the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, an attractive proposition to be captured and divided between the three rival imperial powers of Britain, France and Russia. In AD 1915, Britain and France agreed to back Russia's claim in the Turkish Straits as an incentive to the Russians to join the Allied side. In return, Russia should leave the Middle East, leaving Britain and France to decide its fate. The outcome here was the secret agreement of AD 1916 known as the Sykes-Picot, through which a line in the sand was drawn in the Middle East to clearly demarcate each colonial power's territory. Mesopotamia fell within the British allocation.<sup>75</sup>

On capturing the city on 11 March 1917, General Sir Stanley Maude issued a proclamation '*To the People of Baghdad*', addressing only the Arab inhabitants of the city, informing them to cooperate with the liberators of their Arab race in order to restore the city's lost legacy. This singling out of one cultural group within what had been a multicultural city, instigated the beginning of the rise of Arab nationalism in Baghdad and was to have significant consequences on the uses of heritage applied by subsequent regimes.

...our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators...It is the wish not only of my King and his peoples, but it is also the wish of the great nations with whom he is in alliance, that you should prosper even as in the past, when your lands were fertile, when your ancestors gave to the world literature, science, and art, and when Baghdad city was one of the wonders of the world...It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth, and that it shall bind itself together to this end in unity and concord... I am commanded to invite you, through your nobles and elders and representatives, to participate in the management of your civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain who accompany the British Army,

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<sup>75</sup> Arthur Goldschmidt, and Lawrence Davidson, *A Concise History of the Middle East*. 8th edn (Colorado & Oxford: Westview Press, 2006), p. 213.



so that you may be united with your kinsmen in North, East, South, and West in realising the aspirations of your race.<sup>76</sup>

However, mapping the city was one of the priorities for the British. Baghdad's first modern surveyed map was made by the Map Compilation Section, General Head Quarters, Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force. Printed on 6 June 1917, the first edition of the map employed aerial photographs, the most advanced method of mapping at that time. The mapped quality of the city transformed from being very basic and abstract to a more accurate and detailed map.

It is probably one of the first accurate Town Plans to be made entirely from aeroplane photographs. It demonstrates the great possibilities of the use of aeroplane photography in the construction of City Plans and the consequent enormous saving of time and labour.<sup>77</sup>

If employing only conventional methods of survey, Baghdad's tortuous alleyways would hamper any attempts to map the city and make such an undertaking a colossal task. It took less than a month to produce the map using aerial photography.<sup>78</sup>

However, what made the map unique is that for the first time all main buildings, *Suqs* and *Mahalas*; and all mosques, synagogues, churches, were recorded accurately.<sup>79</sup>

It is noteworthy that two other maps were drawn prior to AD 1921 (the date of the formation of the Iraqi state). One was by the former Ottoman Colonel Mohammed Amin Zaki in AD 1919. It is mainly based on Rashid Al-Khoja's map of AD 1908, but Zaki updated the map by adding the new street (Al Rashid Street) and a few additional tombs<sup>80</sup>. Similar to those of the Ottoman era, and despite pinpointing the locations of the main buildings, *Suqs* and *Mahalas*, the map has a low level of accuracy.

The second map was published in 1920 by the archaeologists Sarre and Herzfeld, based on a survey by Andrea and Becker. The map covered the city and its vicinity including the other two historic cores of Kadhimiya and Aadhamiya which were

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<sup>76</sup> Stanley Maude, 'The Proclamation of Baghdad', in *The King of Hedjaz and Arab Independence* (London: Hayman, Christy & Lilly, LTD, 1917), pp. 12-15.

<sup>77</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), WO 302/551: Report: "Compilation of the Baghdad City Plan from Airphotographs by the Map Compilation Section, Ghq, Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force" by Major C P Gunter Re, Oc Map Compilation Section (20.09.1917).

<sup>78</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), WO 302/551: Report: "Compilation of the Baghdad City Plan from Airphotographs by the Map Compilation Section, Ghq, Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force" by Major C P Gunter Re, Oc Map Compilation Section (20.09.1917).

<sup>79</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Air 1/2359/226/5/46: Series of Air Mosaics of Mesopotamia, Baghdad, Mosul and Kirmanshah Areas (August 1917).

<sup>80</sup> Jawad and Susa, pp. 11-98 (p. 87).

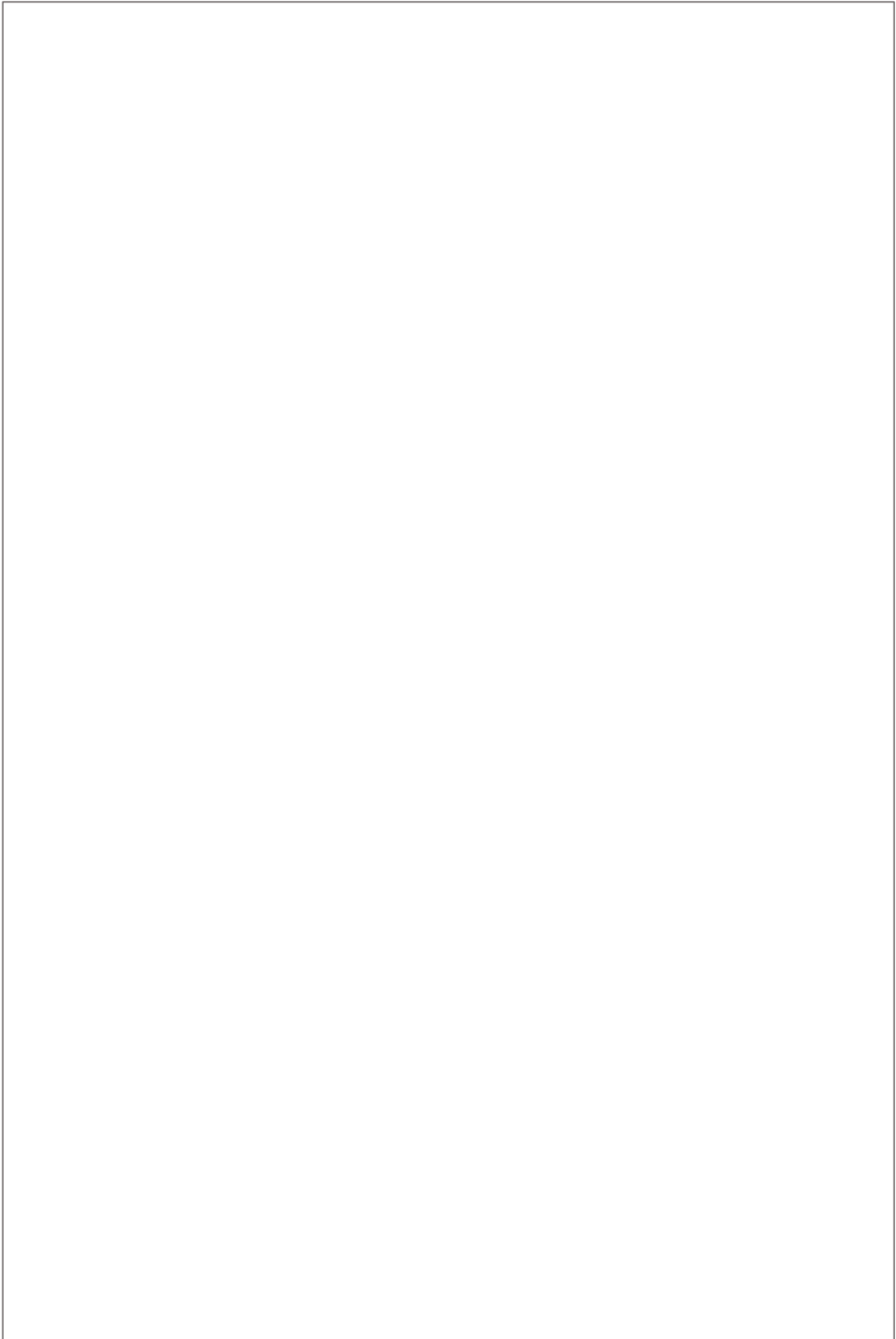


Figure 3.09: Map of Baghdad in 1917 by the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), WO 302/546: City of Baghdad Ed No 1 (06.06.1917).

situated north of Karkh and Rusafa. The purpose of the map was not only to record the historic cores, but to determine the accurate location of the lost Baghdad medieval 'round city'.<sup>82</sup>

### **Britain's perspective on Iraqi cultural heritage**

Within the period of the British colonization of Baghdad, much credit can be given to the efforts of one person who played a pivotal role, not only in the newly founded state of Iraq, but in establishing early heritage management practices in Iraq. Gertrude Bell, who has been considered the "the uncrowned queen of Iraq"<sup>83</sup>, worked as Oriental Secretary to the High Commissioner's Office in Baghdad. In addition to her political duties, she was an archaeologist who devoted her life to Mesopotamia.<sup>84</sup>

Bell's interpretation of Baghdadi architectural heritage was very much based on an antiquities perspective. Arguably, the start of official architectural conservation management in Baghdad was the measures taken by her to ensure the protection of ancient buildings in the city at the beginning of May 1917.

I'm going to show the Revenue Commissioner all the old buildings and scraps of buildings that are left here, and he has promised to keep guard over them.<sup>85</sup>

Bell first inspected Mirjaniya *Madrassa* Mosque, the celebrated fourteenth century Mosque and tomb, and measures were then taken to conduct essential repairs. She emphasized the need to engage a trained architect to deal with ancient buildings as soon as possible.<sup>86</sup>

The culmination of Bell's efforts was evident in the Proclamation of 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1917, which was issued by the General Officer Commanding in Baghdad, which stated that all antiquities should be protected, their demolition was to be prohibited and Army personnel in particular were warned with regard to damaging antiquities.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Friedrich Sarre, and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise Im Euphrat- Und Tigris-Gebiet*. Vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag Von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1920).

<sup>83</sup> Bell was also a kingmaker, she selected Prince Faisal (son of Husain, the Sharif of Mecca and King of the Hijaz) to be crowned as the king of Iraq in 1921.

<sup>84</sup> Janet Wallach, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, Adviser to Kings, Ally of Lawrence of Arabia* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1997), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>85</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to H.B & F.B, Baghdad, April 27th, 1917', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), p. 408.

<sup>86</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to H.B, Baghdad, May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1917', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: London : Benn, 1927), p. 409.

<sup>87</sup> 'Mesopotamian Antiquities'.

The Proclamation was followed by a list compiling just 15 monuments of archaeological or historical interest in Baghdad, which was prepared by the Office of the Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia under the direct supervision of Bell in November 1919. The list was the basis on which all following official heritage designations were built. Interestingly, Mirjaniya *Madrassa* Mosque was the first on the list. The list contains two *madrassas*, one *khan*, a city gate, four tombs, a palace, five mosques, and a minaret, all of which represent an Arabic or Islamic cultural identity.<sup>88</sup>

Indeed, archaeological and historical values were the primary criteria used to identify and preserve the architectural heritage of Mesopotamia generally, and Baghdad in particular, in the first quarter of the twentieth century. But arguing this as a given in Baghdad without taking the effect of politics into account does not give a clear enough account of heritage protection decision-making. Since its construction, the city had been considered the intellectual capital of Arab Islam. – (the identity of the other capitals of Arab Islam attributed to different features, with Mecca as the religious capital, Medina as the caliphal capital, Damascus, the imperial capital, Cairo, the dissident capital, and Cordoba as the European capital)<sup>89</sup>– This intellectuality could not be reached without being multicultural and multi-ethnic city. The Abbasid Caliphs, especially Harun al-Rashid, granted freedom to the other monotheistic inhabitants who generated significant intellectual contributions to the city as the Jewish and Christian population.<sup>90</sup> Reeva Simon and Eleanor Tejirian have examined the plurality of Baghdad and Mesopotamia:

Under Muslim rule, the area remained a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual zone, a “permeable cross-cultural passage,” where “people were constantly rubbing shoulders and socializing with one another only to find themselves on different sides as unwilling draftees in other peoples’ armies.” Irrespective of politics, the area was home to Kurds, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, Semites and Indo-Europeans, Muslims, Christians, Jews, as well as remnants of groups that had adopted syncretic forms of Christianity and Islam.<sup>91</sup>

The AD 1917 British map of the city undoubtedly illustrates the location of Jewish and Christian neighbourhoods in the heart of Rusafa, segregated and encircled by the

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<sup>88</sup> 'Notes on Places of Archaeological or Historical Interest at Baghdad', ed. by Office of Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia (Baghdad: Government Press, 1919).

<sup>89</sup> Philip K. Hitti, *Capital Cities of Arab Islam* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), pp. 3-135.

<sup>90</sup> Stewart and Haylock, p. 37.

<sup>91</sup> Reeva Spector Simon, and Eleanor H. Tejirian, *The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 3.

neighbourhoods of Muslims, and clearly substantiates that they had resided in Baghdad since its construction as they did not construct their *Mahalas* on the periphery of the city. One might argue that the heritage of the Kurds, Turks, and Persians were represented by the new official list since the majority of sites were considered to be under the umbrella of Islam. But what about the heritage of those citizens who classified themselves as belonging to the other indigenous monotheistic groups? Ironically, Bell reported on the significant minority of Jews in the city in her *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, stating that ‘The Jewish community, which is the most wealthy in Baghdad, and comprises considerably more than a third of the population of the town’.<sup>92</sup>

Undeniably, their heritage was politically ignored and labelled as insignificant. Stephen Longrigg, a contemporary of Bell who also served in Baghdad, elaborated more and estimated that the Jewish community in Baghdad numbered around five thousand, equivalent to that of Sunni Arab population and outnumbering the Christian, Persian, and Turkish communities combined. He emphasized the affluence of the Jewish community that had strong commercial relationships with Manchester, England, and the rest of the world.<sup>93</sup> Other questions also need to be addressed. Did those affluent and non-affluent communities not have significant buildings that could be considered heritage? Did one of the many synagogues, churches and private buildings not have historical value? If not, then should there not be at least a handful of historical tombs of well-known individuals venerated by those communities in a similar way to the four Muslim tombs incorporated on Bell’s list?

Apart from this critique, Bell’s efforts in conservation practice were praiseworthy, and echoed the anti-restoration movement led by John Ruskin in England in the late nineteenth century.<sup>94</sup> This was heard and well-implemented in Ctesiphon, an ancient ruin site located south of Baghdad, and the first ancient site to have architectural intervention to consolidate its great walled façade. After inspecting the monument, the

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<sup>92</sup> Gertrude Bell, 'Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia (During the British Military Occupation to the Summer of 1920)', (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), p. 127.

<sup>93</sup> Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950: A Political, Social and Economic History*, p. 10.

<sup>94</sup> Jukka, p. 174.

British architect Major Wilson, who was accompanied and supervised by Bell, proposed the addition of concrete to strengthen its foundations.<sup>95</sup>

Arab identity was further strengthened by the British, inadvertently via another major event in the region affecting Baghdad after as a British colony. This was the Arab revolt of 1920 – known in Arabic sources as the nineteenth twenty revolution. It happened as a reaction to British colonial policy in the region, which ignited anti-British sentiments mainly in the countryside where Arab tribesmen took arms and randomly attacked the British presence in lower Mesopotamia. Despite lasting only about three months, the British losses were expensive with more than four hundred personnel killed and approximately forty million pounds in lost revenues.<sup>96</sup>

This led the British to realize that imitating their imperial model of India would be futile and exorbitant in Mesopotamia, and instead of a military retreat from the region, which had the richest oil resource in the world, they recognized that they could control it and keep their full influence through the creation of a pro-British Arab state called Iraq.<sup>97</sup> At this critical juncture the Arabic name of the region Iraq was used for the first time by the British and the West, superseding the ancient Greek name Mesopotamia in all official correspondences and literature.<sup>98</sup>

This task entailed two elements, determining the boundaries of the newly founded state and searching for a monarch to govern it. Both of these were assigned by the Foreign Office to Gertrude Bell to propose. She worked arduously to unify three distinctive provinces of the defeated Ottoman Empire – Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra –<sup>99</sup> all of which were the most religiously and ethnically diverse provinces in the Arab region of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>100</sup>

Interestingly, Bell's recommendation in the *British in Cairo conference of 1921*,<sup>101</sup> – led by Winston Churchill (the newly appointed Colonial Secretary), along with

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<sup>95</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to H.B, Baghdad, May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1921', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), p. 597.

<sup>96</sup> Phebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq*. 3rd edn (Boulder: Westview Press, 2012), pp. 23-24.

<sup>97</sup> Courtney Hunt, *The History of Iraq* (London: Greenwood Press, 2005), pp. 63-64.

<sup>98</sup> Nadeem Al-Abdalla, *Bibliography of English Books About Iraq: Selected Bibliography of Books Published in English About Iraq & Mesopotamia 1800 – 2000* (London: Amazon Ltd, 2013), pp. 7-8.

<sup>99</sup> Heather Lehr Wagner, *Gertrude Bell: Explorer of the Middle East* (United States of America: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004), p. 79.

<sup>100</sup> William L. Cleveland, and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 4th edn (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), p. 204.

<sup>101</sup> Wagner, p. 79.

Gertrude Bell, Sir Percy Cox, and T. E. Lawrence – approved Bell’s borders for the state. It also agreed not to select a monarch from those diverse provinces or any part of the state, but instead to import an Arab prince from Mecca,<sup>102</sup> ‘who is an Arab of the true race’.<sup>103</sup> The reason for this deliberate decision, Christopher Catherwood argues, was that ‘Churchill’s scheme was, in effect, to establish a series of pro-British client monarchies, all of whose rulers would owe Britain a debt of considerable gratitude simply for the fact that they were in power at all’.<sup>104</sup>

However, Bell’s nomination of Faisal, the Arab prince from Mecca, was not an arbitrary one, as she had gained a deep understanding of the Arab tribes in the region when she worked as a British intelligence officer in AD 1911. She wrote several critical correspondences estimating their numbers, tracing back their lineages, and testing which of whom would be ready to cooperate with the British against the Ottomans.<sup>105</sup>

Bell’s main premise was that Faisal had unique characteristics, and that his paternal and maternal blood lines could be traced directly back to Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad and the wife of his cousin Imam Ali. This meant that the selection of Faisal carried owing to the fact that he was an Arab Sunni Muslim prince, but also a descendant of Ali, who was and is highly venerated by the Shia’ Muslim majority in Iraq. Bell thought he could unify the main sects of Islam in Iraq. However, these same characteristics made him unfavourable to the Iraqis, as being an Arab Muslim implied alienating Kurds, Jews, Christians, and resident Turks and transferring them to minority status.<sup>106</sup> Being a Sunni from Arabia also meant rejection from local (indigenous) Sunni aristocrats and Shia Muslims. Despite these difficulties, Bell adamantly supported Faisal to become King of Iraq.<sup>107</sup>

Consequently, the people, the governor, the borders, and the political structure of the nascent state called Iraq was decisively selected and formed by the British (Bell) and not by the local inhabitants of the region.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Hunt, pp. 63-64.

<sup>103</sup> *The King of Hedjaz and Arab Independence*, (London: Hayman, Christy & Lilly, LTD, 1917), p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> Christopher Catherwood, *Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 2007), p. 141.

<sup>105</sup> Wagner, p. 61.

<sup>106</sup> Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), pp. 320, 335, 368.

<sup>107</sup> Simon, pp. 33, 163.

<sup>108</sup> Wagner, p. 76.

## **National identity and Iraq's perspective on Iraqi cultural heritage**

*Pace* Dawisha, who argues that the British succeeded to some extent in creating the state, but the herculean task of forming its national identity was left to the new appointed king and his coterie.<sup>109</sup> Crowning Faisal, the Arab prince from Mecca, therefore contributed enormously towards the identity of the national state. Undoubtedly, the king encountered from the first day of his reign the challenge of assimilating his diverse populations, 'who were Iraqis in name only, to statehood'.<sup>110</sup>

Eric Davis shed light on significant questions that Iraqis, including the king, had to deal with after the state was established. 'What would constitute the new state's founding myths, and hence to what history or histories would Iraqis look? How would the state's constituent ethnic groups relate to one another?'<sup>111</sup> Davis' questions are significantly critical, but he does not pay attention to the differences between two essential terms, the state and the nation. The state, unlike the nation, does not require a myth, history or ethnic groups to be established as I have demonstrated in chapter 2.

Based on Davis's questions, Smith's ethno-symbolism, and the field of heritage, the following can be asked. What is the nation's founding myth? How has it been articulated in the field of heritage? What role has heritage played in the process of Iraqi nation building?

I argue that the British creation of Iraq, crowning Faisal, and the flagrant disregard to the heritage of non-Arab and non-Muslims had enormously affected the identity of Baghdad and suppressed any attempts to present other identities. Faisal and Faisal focused on creating Iraq based on an Arab nation and heritage in order to legitimise the non-Iraqi king.

Therefore, two distinctive types of heritage had to be produced for two different consumers in the first quarter of the twentieth century. One based on the narrative of Arabism for those local inhabitants within the borders of the state, and the other based on ancient Mesopotamian heritage designed to support the Western narrative and cultural artefacts exported or plundered from within the borders of the state.

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<sup>109</sup> Adeed Dawisha, *Iraq: A Political History from Independence to Occupation* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> Cleveland and Bunton, p. 207.

<sup>111</sup> Eric Davis, *Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (London: University of California Press, Ltd, 2005), p. 18.



Bell's political and archaeological influence continued after the establishment of the modern state of Iraq in AD 1921. A plethora of archaeological sites from the distant past, such as Kish, Ur, Babylon and Nineveh in particular, still needed to be protected or excavated and exhibited. Given the fact that there was no national law nor regulatory body dealing with Iraqi heritage nor a single museum in the whole Iraq,<sup>112</sup> Bell's efforts concentrated equally on writing the first Iraqi law of antiquities and establishing the Iraqi National Museum.

She was appointed in October 1922 as the Provisional Director of the newly established Directory of Archaeology<sup>113</sup> and started drafting the first Iraqi cultural heritage law in July 1922, which she called the '*Law of Excavations*'.<sup>114</sup> In this, the notion of heritage was confined to the ancient remains of the past, and Baghdadi traditional fabric was considered without value in comparison to these archaeological sites. Bell's draft law was enacted two years later as *the Law of 1924 for Ancient Antiquities*. Heritage, as ancient antiquities were defined, includes all buildings, structures, ruins and objects which indicate to art, science, history, religion, literature or tradition, constructed in Iraq, (or made or brought into it) prior to the year AD 1700. Two categories of ancient antiquities were classified: unmovable ancient antiquities, i.e. antiquities attached to earth as fixed structures; and movable ancient antiquities.<sup>115</sup>

Interestingly, not only did the law's name change from that in the draft, but the Directory of Archaeology was restructured to be the Directory of Ancient Antiquities, a Government Body responsible for enforcing the law and managing ancient antiquities.<sup>116</sup> Bell was its first Director.<sup>117</sup>

Indeed, moveable ancient antiquities and excavations were the primary focus of the law, especially in terms of stating the antiquities' ownership and regulating their trade, as well as the sanctioning of excavations and granting of export licences,<sup>118</sup> the same scenario as the nineteenth century archaeological expeditions and Western interest in

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<sup>112</sup> 'Mesopotamian Antiquities'.

<sup>113</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to H.B, Baghdad, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1921', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), p. 652.

<sup>114</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to H.B, Baghdad, July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1922', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), p. 656.

<sup>115</sup> 'The Law of Ancient Antiquities of 1924', (Baghdad: The Iraqi Kingdom, 1924).

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Bell was the director of ancient antiquities.

<sup>118</sup> 'The Law of Ancient Antiquities of 1924'.

the Mesopotamian past. Bell introduced this law to sanction these expeditions but by this time total plunders of the region's archaeological sites was slightly confined by sharing the finds between the state and privately operating excavators. Bell herself, as a director, was the only person involved in approving such procedures. For example, she divided finds with Professor Stephen Langdon who was in charge of the excavation site in Ur. She wrote to her family describing the division process:

“Who decides,” said the professor, “if we disagree?” I replied that I did, but he needn't be afraid for he would find me eager to oblige. I said “Come on, Professor, you'll see how it works out.” So we went to his tent where all the table were exposed. There was one unique object, a stone tablet inscribed with what is probably the oldest known human script. The Professor positively pressed it on me; he said he had copied it and read it and didn't mind what happened. So I took it. Then we went to a little room where all the other objects were, and began on the beads and jewels. There was a lovely pomegranate but earring, found in the grave of a girl, time of Nebuchadnezzar, and he set against it a wonderful copper stage, early Babylonian and falling into dust. It was obvious that we here could not preserve the latter, as I explained. I took the pomegranate bud and he was pleased. So we turned to the necklaces, and we picked, turn and turn about. And thus with the rest. The Professor grew more and more excited. It is very amusing to do I must say. And isn't it fantastic to be selecting pots and things four to six thousand years old! I got a marvellous stone inlay of a Sumerian king captives and not being at all nice to them, and a mother of pearl inlay of a king and his wives-inscribed with his name. The Professor got, what he longed for, a mother of pearl inlay representing a milking scene.<sup>119</sup>

Such plunders could not be achieved without the Western premise that the Mesopotamian past should not be associated with the current inhabitants of Iraq and that they should be dissociated from that past. Bahrani argues that Mesopotamia according to standardized orthodox text book accounts ‘can only inhabit a temporal, not a terrestrial, space’.<sup>120</sup> Thus, ‘*Third World nations resent those in the West who would deny them their past while claiming history as their own*’.<sup>121</sup>

Magnus Bernhardsson approaches this issue by adopting Hinsley's three stages of archaeological retrieval: the site, the ship, and the museum. The site should be depicted as an abandoned land of a lost ancient civilization, inhabited by a ‘passive, unenlightened population’. The ship is the means of transport that illustrates Western

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<sup>119</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to H.B & F.B, Baghdad, March 27th, 1924', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), pp. 690-691.

<sup>120</sup> Bahrani, pp. 159-74 (pp. 163-64).

<sup>121</sup> Roderick McIntosh, Susan McIntosh, and Tereba Togola, 'People without History', *Archaeology*, 42 (1989), 74-80 (p. 74).

power and technological advancement, while the museum is the place where the object can be stored, preserved, exhibited, and appreciated by enlightened Europeans.<sup>122</sup>

However, despite the very limited attention given to architectural heritage, with just two of the 33 clauses in the new law relating to unmovable ancient antiquities, this was the first time that it was officially designated and protected in the modern state of Iraq. Demolition of architectural heritage in Baghdad, the removal of construction materials, and any use that might harm its physical or symbolic status were prohibited by law.<sup>123</sup>

Undeniably, enacting the law was a significant positive step to protect the heritage of the city and the state, a half plundered past is better than a total one. One outcome was the accumulation of archaeological finds in the national museum in Baghdad. However, the plethora of artefacts and the scarcity of trained staff were overwhelmingly felt even in the early days of establishing the Directory of Ancient Antiquities. Bell was inundated with the amount of discovered antiquities that needed to be stored and exhibited in the Iraqi National Museum in AD 1926.

All my staff (an old Arab curator, a very intelligent Jew clerk and an odd man) is so busy. We are now beginning to see daylight through the preliminary task of numbering the objects—between three and four thousand of them. [...] I would like to finish this Job first—indeed, I feel that I must finish it, there being no one else.<sup>124</sup>

I work at it as hard as I can, but it's a gigantic task.<sup>125</sup>

When Gertrude Bell passed away suddenly on 12 July 1926, she left the task only partially achieved. The principal wing in the Iraqi National Museum was dedicated to her name, a gratitude of King Faisal I and the Government of Iraq for her distinguished service.<sup>126</sup>

It is without doubt that Bell's death represented an end to a fundamental chapter of heritage management and practice in Baghdad during the British era.

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<sup>122</sup> Bernhardsson, p. 16.

<sup>123</sup> 'The Law of Ancient Antiquities of 1924'.

<sup>124</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to F.B, Bagdad, June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1926', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), p. 770.

<sup>125</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, 'Letter to F.B, Bagdad, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1926', in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2, ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), p. 773.

<sup>126</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*. Vol.2. ed. by Florence Eveleen Eleanore Olliffe Bell (London: Benn, 1927), P. 779.

### ***Awqaf*: an Islamic approach to inherited property**

It is important to recognise within an Islamic context, that even without specific cultural heritage laws, a separate system of protection and management exists by which cultural property may be afforded some protection, organised through traditional institutions that managed and owned significant numbers of heritage buildings in Baghdad. *Awqaf* represents the biggest landlord in Islamic cities. It is estimated that in the early twentieth century approximately one half to two thirds of properties in the Ottoman empire were owned by *Awqaf*,<sup>127</sup> Architectural heritage in Baghdad idealizes this fact, and thirteen of the fifteen monuments in Bell's list of AD 1919 were owned and managed by *awqaf*.<sup>128</sup>

The long-standing tradition of *waqf* embodies not only a religious dimension, but conveys social and economic dimensions as well. *Waqf* in its Arabic singular form, is derived from the verb *waqafa* “وقف” which means “to stop” or “to hold”, and *Awqaf* is the plural form<sup>129</sup>. The Islamic concept of *waqf* thus means that a property is gifted and dedicated by its owner (or founder) through *usufruct* (beneficial right of use) to serve a particular need for a specific person (the beneficiary). The majority of the Islamic doctrines emphasize that the state of *waqf* is permanent<sup>130</sup> which means that the length of dedication is perpetual until the Day of Judgement (as conceived through an eschatological world view of history and destiny from within the Abrahamic religious traditions). Moreover, *Waqf* cannot be sold, inherited, gifted or be used in any way different from that declared by its founder.<sup>131</sup>

It is widely accepted that this tradition emerged from the saying of the Prophet Muhammad which emphasizes the significant role of charity in Islam, ‘when a man dies, all his acts come to an end, but three; recurring charity, or knowledge (by which people benefit), or a pious offspring, who prays for him’.<sup>132</sup> In the early period when the concept of *waqf* was introduced, the *waqif* (founder) him/herself or the *Mutawali*

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<sup>127</sup> Muhammad Zubair Abbasi, 'The Classical Islamic Law of Waqf: A Concise Introduction', *Arab Law Quarterly*, 26 (2012), 121-53 (p. 122).

<sup>128</sup> 'Notes on Places of Archaeological or Historical Interest at Baghdad'.

<sup>129</sup> Abdul Jalil Abdul Rahman Ashoub, *Alwaqf Book* (Cairo: Dar Al Affaq Al Arabia, 2000), p. 9.

<sup>130</sup> There are two main schools of thought in Islam, Sunni school is based on four Islamic doctrines: Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik bin Anas, Imam Shafi', Imam Ibn Hanbal; and Shia School of thought which is considered the fifth doctrine. Only one school permits the temporary Waqf.

<sup>131</sup> Monzer Kahf, *Islamic Waqf, Its Evolution, Administration, Development*. 2nd edn (Damascus, Syria: Dar Al Fiker, 2006), pp. 56-59.

<sup>132</sup> Muslim, *Sahih Muslim*. Vol. Book 13 – Hadith 4005.

(an administrator), to whom the property was assigned, was responsible for managing the *waqf* without any intervention from governments. When the *Awqaf* started to expand rapidly, which coincided with the development of life in Islamic societies, judges in Baghdad and the rest of the Islamic world became responsible for the periodic supervision and inspection the *awqaf*. Their jurisdiction entails questioning the *Mutawalis*, impeaching them and inaugurating others if any negligence or misuse of the *waqf* is discovered. In the majority of cases, judges showed leniency and just warn *Mutawalis* to maintain and repair the *waqf*.<sup>133</sup>

There are several ways to catalogue the *waqf*, but as this research is situated in the field of architecture, the appropriate classification here is by functional categorisation first and beneficiaries second. In the former, the *waqf* could be mosques, schools, universities, libraries, hospitals, clinics, wells, bridges, arches, houses, khans, cemeteries, shelters, drinking water, means of transport, paved roads, gardens, groves, clothes, jewellery, weapons, seeds for farming, agricultural equipment, guest houses dedicated for pilgrims of the holy city of Mecca, etc. The latter might consist of needy people, fighters, scientists, students, sick people, orphans, the elderly, the disabled, prisoners, foundlings etc.<sup>134</sup> Interestingly, all these crucial services have been provided without any cost to governments, which illustrates the significance of the *waqf* in Islamic economic discourse<sup>135</sup>. With respect to properties, direct benefit could be obtained by occupying or using a building or a land by the beneficiaries themselves, or indirectly by renting the properties and subsequently using the generated income for beneficiaries' needs.<sup>136</sup>

As the *waqf* is perpetual, several issues have arisen such as the object of the *waqf* being destroyed by natural elements or deliberate action, the object of the *waqf* failing to serve the main function declared by its founder, or it is in the public interest to remove it, etc. Each of the Islamic doctrines has its judgements, some emphasizing the prohibition of selling the property or even its rubble if demolished, while others also

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<sup>133</sup> Mohammed Obaid Kubaisi, *The Provisions of the Waqf in Islamic Sharia*. Vol. One (Baghdad: Ershad printing, Ministry Of Awqaf, Republic of Iraq, 1977), p. 38.

<sup>134</sup> Rafiq Younis Masri, *Awqaf, Jurisprudence and Economy* (Damascus, Syria: Dar Al Maktabi, 1999), p. 28.

<sup>135</sup> Murat Cizakca, 'Awqaf in History and Its Implications for Modern Islamic Economics', *Islamic Economics Studies*, 6 (November 1998), 43-70 (p. 44).

<sup>136</sup> Khalfan Amour Khalfan, and Nobuyuki Ogura, 'The Contribution of Islamic Waqf to Managing the Conservation of Buildings in the Historic Stone Town of Zanzibar', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 19 (2012), 153-74 (p. 156).

prohibit doing so, but accepting that *waqf* properties can be exchanged with similar land or buildings without any monetary transaction taking place.<sup>137, 138</sup>

Thus, *Awqaf* as institutions and religious principles do not as such constitute a heritage protection system in Baghdad but the system does afford some level of protection in an attempt to maintain culturally significant properties in perpetuity. However, rather than starting with the principle of the heritage value of any heritage asset, the *awqaf* emphasises the delivery of charitable services to beneficiaries. Maintaining, repairing, developing, and exchanging architectural assets are therefore the means to an end for charitable purposes.

### **Conclusion**

The extant spatial records for Baghdad have demonstrated that generally the physical condition of the city at the beginning of the twentieth century was poor, but despite the fact that the majority of its buildings were labelled as being of low architectural value, the city's relatively intact pre-modern urban fabric and the interrelationships between its urban components generated its aesthetic and historic value as an object of heritage.

However, as the chapter has made clear, there was no official mechanism to identify Baghdadi heritage during the Ottoman era and therefore official concepts of heritage evolved directly from Gertrude Bell's archaeological perspective after the city was colonised by the British Empire in AD 1917. *Awqaf* was not an adequate substitute of a lack of heritage protection as its sole focus is on delivering charitable services to human beneficiaries and not on identifying or maintaining the architectural heritage of the city. Thus, the salient point of Bell's legacy is a rudimentary antiquity legislations, but without an effective architectural heritage protection system, and the documents and systems to identify and record significant heritage were partial and fragmentary.

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<sup>137</sup> Mohammed Obaid Kubaisi, *The Provisions of the Waqf in Islamic Sharia*. Vol. Two (Baghdad: Ershad printing, Ministry Of Awqaf, Republic of Iraq, 1977), pp. (9-52).

<sup>138</sup> The *waqf* discourse is both complicated and contentious: there are five Islamic doctrines, each of which has produced an enormous amount of *waqf* literature and judgements. The Iraqi Law of *awqaf* number 68 in 1970 permits the selling of *waqf* or exchange it with property when the public interest necessitates such an action.

Indeed, Bell's contribution to the heritage management and practices of the city was not politically neutral, but the two forms of heritage produced in tandem were a consequence of political needs to create a complicit Arab nation state and to maintaining the West's narrative about the region's past as the birthplace of civilisation and now continued through the culture and society of the West.

The identity of the city was transformed significantly in a very short period in the early twentieth century, from that of a neglected provisional city to a capital of an Arab nascent state. Architectural heritage was consequently deployed to buttress the new identity by focusing solely on monuments resonating with Arab Islamic past, the impact of which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

## Chapter 4

### Heritage in the Service of Arab Nationalism

We of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the 17th of July Revolution, do not consider the heritage as an unanimated mass. We do not consider heritage for just conservation and showing off, but while we emphasise its historical value we regard it as a great national and revolutionary value in our contemporary life. [...] This nation finds in her heritage a weapon of struggle for freedom, progress and unity. This is because of the richness of this heritage which is filled with inspiring achievements in all political, military, philosophical, literary and artistic fields.<sup>1</sup>

These words of the former Iraqi president Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr show the importance of the deployment of heritage for the Arab nationalism movement. Such a deployment has had direct effects on heritage management and practice in Baghdad through a significant period in the twentieth century. This chapter starts by exploring the literature of Sati' al-Husri and focusing on his role in using and prioritising the Arab heritage to consolidate the identity of the nascent Arab nation. As the intensity of Arab nationalism movement had varied, the case study of the long project of conserving the so-called Abbasid Palace, from AD 1934 to AD 1975, is selected to chart the influence of Arab nationalism on Baghdadi heritage.

#### **Heritage and Arab Nationalism: from Sati' al-Husri to the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party**

Sati' al-Husri (AD 1879-1968) was a prominent Arab intellectual, pedagogue, cardinal founder and contributor to Arab nationalism as a movement and discourse. Similar to the King Faisal I, he was not indigenous to Iraq, but born in Sana of Aleppine parents.<sup>2</sup> After Faisal ascended to the throne in AD 1921, Sati' al-Husri was appointed as the director general of Iraqi education<sup>3</sup> and then as a Director of the General Directorate

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr, 'Speech of the Leader President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr in the Festival of Ai-Farabi', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World (English Section)*, XXXII (1976), 3-6 (p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Sati' al-Husri, *Opinions and Conversations in Patriotism and Nationalism*. Vol. I, *National Heritage Series: The National Works of Sati' al-Husri* (Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1984), p. i.

<sup>3</sup> Sara Pursley, 'Building the Nation through the Production of Difference', in *Writing the Modern History of Iraq: Historiographical and Political Challenges*, ed. by Jordi Tejel, Peter Sluglett, Riccardo Bocco and Hamit Bozarslan (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd, 2012), pp. 119-42 (p. 124).



of Ancient Antiquities from AD 1934 to 1941.<sup>4</sup>

To legitimise the non-Iraqi King and to unify the diverse population, Sati' al-Husri's central role in the nascent state was to form 'a common Pan Arab political identity to which all Iraqis would ascribe'.<sup>5</sup> This prioritised establishing and disseminating real and mythical Arab glories.<sup>6</sup>

Sati' al-Husri's theory of Arab nationalism has the majority of the elements of Anthony Smith's approach of ethno-symbolism. For al-Husri:

Language is a nation's soul and life, [...] while history is its consciousness and memory. [...] When I say 'history', I do not mean that written in books or buried among pages of literature and scripts, but that history which still lives in minds and soul.<sup>7</sup>

What al-Husri meant by history is heritage, but heritage, as a notion we have today and discussed in chapter 2, was not developed at that time.

al-Husri's theory considered language and history as the most crucial elements in forming nations. In his view, a nation who forgets its history, loses its consciousness: it is still alive, but slumbers. This nation can regain its consciousness and feeling by returning to its national history and effectively focusing on it. Thus, national consciousness can be revived by recalling historical memories. But, if it has lost its language, then it has lost its life and nothing can bring it back to life or cause it to regain its consciousness and feeling.<sup>8</sup>

al-Husri argued that the concept of Arab Nationalism means the belief in one united Arab nation.<sup>9</sup> The nation is not derived from genealogical Arab ethnicity, but from a cultural one whose power stems from shared language, culture and history.<sup>10</sup> Thus, everyone who lives in the Arab homeland and speak Arabic is an Arab, no matter what

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<sup>4</sup> James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941*. 1st ed. edn (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Eric Davis, *Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (London: University of California Press, Ltd, 2005), p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> al-Husri, *Opinions and Conversations in Patriotism and Nationalism*. Vol. I, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 69.

<sup>9</sup> Sati' al-Husri, *About Arab Nationalism*. Vol. XIV, *National Heritage Series: The National Works of Sati' al-Husri* (Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985), p. 265.

<sup>10</sup> Sati' al-Husri, *Opinions and Conversations in Arab Nationalism*. Vol. VII, *National Heritage Series: The National Works of Sati' al-Husri* (Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985), p. 87.

is his/her religion, sects, and origin.<sup>11</sup> The homeland is not confined to the Arab peninsula, but to all countries whose people speak Arabic; 'From the Zagros Mountains in the east, to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Mediterranean and Anatolian plateau on the north to the Indian Ocean, the sources of the Nile, and the Sahara Desert on the south.'<sup>12</sup>

al-Husri differentiates between the Arab nation and the Arab national states, and he argues that Arabs are one nation inhabiting several adjacent states. Those states were not formed by the nation, but by colonizers in the beginning of the twentieth century. The political and economic differences among those states had therefore been inherited from that colonization era.<sup>13</sup>

For al-Husri, a specific history and heritage was to be mobilised to establish the identity of the nation. Ancient civilizations in the Arab homeland were a source of pride, but they were not essential in forming the identity of the nation. According to al-Husri, Sumerian, Assyrian, Phoenician, and ancient Egyptian civilizations were all dead civilizations, their languages lost and not spoken, and hence they could not be brought back to life and incorporated into the identity of the nation. They belong to the dead past. Instead, Arabism represented the living present, and therefore focusing on shared Arab history and heritage were the driving force for unifying the nation.<sup>14</sup> This theoretical position had immense consequences on heritage management and practice in Baghdad throughout the twentieth century.

al-Husri, as a pedagogue, started his nationalism project by focusing on teaching national history in Iraqi schools, and he planned a national curriculum which concentrated on Arab history generally and on the Baghdad-based Abbasid dynasty in particular. His aim was to nurture and strengthen a sense of belonging to the Arab nation in the hearts of students.<sup>15</sup> He did not rely only on the curriculum, but in the way in which it should be delivered, and he employed a significant number of young

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<sup>11</sup> Sati' al-Husri, *Arabism First*. Vol. IX, *National Heritage Series: The National Works of Sati' al-Husri* (Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 1985), p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*, p. 68.

Arab intellectuals from Palestine and Syria to work as teachers in Iraq, who were committed to his ideology.<sup>16</sup>

On heritage, al-Husri was shocked when he visited the Iraqi National Museum in Baghdad in the 1920s and could not find a single exhibit belonging to the Abbasid or Arab era. That said, he did not undervalue the archaeological findings of Mesopotamian Iraq. He showed his disapproval of Bell's law of ancient antiquities demanding that all discovered antiquities be given, similarly as in Crete, to the Iraqi National Museum. Bell answered that 'Iraq is one thing and Crete is another thing altogether'.<sup>17</sup>

Once he took the helm of the General Directorate of Ancient Antiquities in AD 1934, al-Husri had two aims: focusing on Arab monuments and antiquities as they were essential components in forming the Arab identity; and stopping the authorized plunder of Mesopotamian antiquities owing to it being considered a source of national pride.

With respect to the latter aim, amending the law was a necessity. It took al-Husri two years to fully pass the new law. Article 49 of it states that all antiquities discovered by excavators, are owned by the Iraqi government. However, excavators have the right to make models of the discovered antiquities, take half of duplicate discoveries, and obtain some found antiquities that the Iraqi government might give up owing to their similarities – in terms of type, style, material, as well as historical and artistic value – with antiquities already owned by the Iraqi National Museum.<sup>18</sup>

Even though al-Husri's law slightly expands the definition of heritage, it mainly defines it based on archaeological grounds. According to the law, Baghdadi heritage is confined to ancient monuments where heritage is defined as:

Movable and unmovable antiquities that made or constructed prior to AD 1700, they should denote the conditions of those lived in the past in terms of science, arts, craftsmanship, literature, religions, traditions, morals, or politics. The Iraqi council of

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<sup>16</sup> Adeed Dawisha, *Iraq: A Political History from Independence to Occupation* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> Eric Davis, 'The Museum and the Politics of Social Control in Modern Iraq', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. by John R. Gillis (New Jersey & Chichester: Princeton, 1996), pp. 90-104 (pp. 93-94).

<sup>18</sup> 'The Iraqi Law Number 59 in 1936 of Ancient Antiquities', (Baghdad: The Kingdom of Iraq, 1936).

ministers can declare those constructed or made after AD 1700 as antiquities if they have a historic or artistic value.<sup>19</sup>

However, nothing was added to Bell's list of fifteen places of archaeological or historical interest in Baghdad.<sup>20</sup> From the list, al-Husri's did not prioritise a mosque, madrasa, khan, tomb, or a city gate as the first monument to act as a conservation project, but instead he selected the so-called Abbasid Palace, the most relevant and powerful Arab monument which could be mythicized and incorporated to strengthen national identity. The conservation project lasted only one year from AD 1934 to 1935 as planned during al-Husri's tenure. Nonetheless, further interventions occurred at later dates and were made by different Iraqi governments.

Those governments adopted Pan-Arab nationalism as an ideology, established by al-Husri and pervading the Iraqi political scene through the majority of the twentieth century. The extent of adoption varied from one government to another until it reached the peak of revolutionary fervour when the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party seized power in AD 1968.<sup>21</sup>

History and heritage are two fundamental pillars in the Arab Ba'ath Party's ideology. The Arabic word 'Ba'ath' means 'The Resurrection', that is to say the resurrection of the Arab nation.<sup>22</sup> The slogan of the party is 'one Arab nation with an immortal mission',<sup>23</sup> while its aims are 'unity, liberty, socialism'.<sup>24</sup> According to Michel Aflaq, the chief founder of the party, the unity and mission of the Resurrection would not be achieved without a revolutionary return to and revival of the Arab glorious past. He argued that:

Only heritage can provide the nation with the feeling of unity as well as granting it the right to accomplish its mission.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> 'Notes on Places of Archaeological or Historical Interest at Baghdad', ed. by Office of Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia (Baghdad: Government Press, 1919).

<sup>21</sup> L. M. Kenny, 'Sati' Al-Husri's Views on Arab Nationalism', *Middle East Journal*, 17 (1963), 231-56 (p. 231).

<sup>22</sup> Michel Aflaq, *For the Resurrection: The Complete Political Literature*. V vols. Vol. IV (Baghdad: Dar al-Huria printing press, 1987), p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> Michel Aflaq, *For the Resurrection: The Complete Political Literature*. V vols. Vol. III (Baghdad: Dar al-Huria printing press, 1987), p. 64.

The Arab future cannot be constructed correctly without relying on the foundation of Arab genuine past and the dynamic understanding of that past.<sup>26</sup>

The Arab nation has a past...has enormous heritage which is the most valuable thing in the life of the nation and its present [...] If we ask Arabs to abandon their heritage, we are sentencing them with a death penalty, what will be left of Arabs when they abandon their heritage?<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, the Director of the General Institute of Antiquities and Heritage emphasised the fundamental role of heritage in the Ba'ath doctrine:

Our heritage is one of the three main tributaries that meet together to constitute Al-Baath doctrine: The heritage, the international revolutionary practices, and the needs of our life are the essential pillars on which the party built the structure of the new community.<sup>28</sup>

Such a return to the past and a focus on national history and heritage were an attempt to construct a mythical present in which images of myths of origins and descent prevailed and fused the lines between the past, the present, and the imagined future. Thus, the Arab nationalist movement was transformed from a mere theory, in which heritage and language are essential, to a revolutionary mission of heritage manipulation. Each of these theoretical positions has affected heritage practice in Baghdad in different ways and intensities. This will be analysed and discussed in the case study of the so-called Abbasid Palace.

### **The so-called Abbasid Palace**

Without surviving inscriptions on the building walls or any known archival materials, the original function and construction date of the Abbasid Palace building have generated ongoing debate amongst historians. Sarkis Yacoub argues that the building surviving remains were part of an Abbasid Palace constructed outside *Dar Al-Caliphate*,<sup>29</sup> which was once a significant enclosure in Rusafa encompassing Palaces, Pavilions and Gardens connected by streets and canals.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Michel Aflaq, *For the Resurrection: The Complete Political Literature*. V vols. Vol. V (Baghdad: Dar al-Huria printing press, 1987), p. 415.

<sup>27</sup> Aflaq, *For the Resurrection: The Complete Political Literature*. Vol. III, p. 43.

<sup>28</sup> Isa Salman, 'Al-Baath and Heritage', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World (English Section)*, XXXII (1976), 7-10 (p. 7).

<sup>29</sup> Sarkis Yacoub, 'Dar Al-Mussanat, Its Remains the Iwan in Citadel ', *Lughat Al-Arab*, 8 (1930), 563-67 (p. 565).

<sup>30</sup> Mustafa Jawad, and Ahmed Susa, *Baghdad Map Index* (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy of Sciences press, 1958), pp. 123-125.

Mustafa Jawad underpins Sarkis Yacoub's argument stating that the Palace was *Dar Al-Mussanat*, a Caliph's resting house, supplied with a great library comprising unique manuscripts that had been moved from *Dar Al-Caliphate* by the Caliph Al-Nasser<sup>31</sup>.<sup>32</sup> The premise of both historians' argument is based entirely on *Ibn Jubayr's* historical remarks. He was a traveller who had visited the city in AD 1184 when the Caliph *Al-Nasser* was seen disembarking from a boat and ascending to the Palace quay, and from that quay the Palace derived its name. Quay is the literal English translation of the Arabic word *Mussanat*. However, both historians agree that the Palace might have another name different to that mentioned by *Ibn Jubayr*, but disagree about its exact construction date. Sarkis Yacoub argues that seeing the Caliph *Al-Nasser* disembark cannot be used as concrete evidence that the Palace was constructed during his reign, and he further argues it might have been erected in his or another predecessor's reign.<sup>33</sup> Mustafa Jawad argues that its construction date was mentioned by *Ibn al-Jawzi*<sup>34</sup> in his historical book *Miraat Al Zaman* and its construction dates were AD 1180-1184. Even so, Jawad mentions that *Ibn al-Jawzi's* publication as we have it today has been distortion.<sup>35</sup> Therefore this distortion might include the Palace construction dates as well.

On the other side of the debate is the historian Naji Maaruf, who argues that the building was not a Palace, but it was the *Al-Sharabiya* madrasa, constructed by the scholar *Iqbal Al-Sharaby*, one of Caliph *Al-Mustansir's*<sup>36</sup> 'great men'.<sup>37</sup> Naji Maaruf's argument, which is reinforced using a critical comparison study, relies on the similarities of *Al-Sharabiya* with other contemporary madrasas such as *Al-Mustansiriya* madrasa in terms of plan, size of rooms, halls, roofs, iwans, stair positions and ornaments. As the majority of the rooms are small in area, it is illogical to assume that they had been built to accommodate the Caliph, his several spouses,

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<sup>31</sup> Al-Nasser Li Din Allah was an Abbasid Caliph and reigned the Islamic Caliphate from 1180 to 1225.

<sup>32</sup> Mustafa Jawad, 'Abbasid Palace (Dar Al-Mussanat)', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq*, 2 (1945), 61-104 (p. 102).

<sup>33</sup> Yacoub, 563-67 (p. 567).

<sup>34</sup> An eminent scientist who was born and died in Baghdad (1116-1201).

<sup>35</sup> Jawad, 61-104 (p. 77).

<sup>36</sup> Al-Mustansir Bi Llah was an Abbasid Caliph and his reigned over the Islamic Caliphate from 1226 to 1242.

<sup>37</sup> Naji Maaruf, *Al-Madrasa Al-Sharbiya* (Baghdad: Ani Press, 1961), p 56.

and other princes and leaders, whereas the small area was sufficient to be occupied by students.<sup>38</sup>

Despite this dispute surrounding the building's function, the General Directorate of Ancient Antiquities considers it to have historically been an Abbasid Palace built in the period between the late of twelve century and the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>39,40,41</sup>

In AD 1296 a change of building use occurred when a prominent state figure was buried within it. It briefly functioned as a cemetery, but shortly afterward the tomb was removed to allow *Sufis*<sup>42</sup> to use it as a *Takya*<sup>43</sup> for praying and performing rituals.<sup>44</sup>

A primary reason for the building and its descriptions being completely omitted from records of the majority of travellers to the city and its local people was that the building was incorporated into the Ottoman fortified citadel. Therefore, access to the building was restricted.<sup>45</sup> Paradoxically, the citadel's construction date is still unknown, but it first appears on Nassouh Almtraca's map of AD 1527.<sup>46-47</sup>

Given the fact that the citadel functioned as an Artillery barracks in the Ottoman era and the building was part of the larger citadel, a further change of use was inevitable with the building being used as an Ottoman ammunitions depot. This led to two substantial additions to the building: first by closing up original doors and windows and opening new regular and irregular ones; and second, constructing new walls and domes on original and new foundations.<sup>48</sup>

The building's architectural significance was severely damaged by the Ottoman's alterations, and the first person to shed light on its significant remains was H. Viollet, a French architect in charge of the government's archaeological mission. His position

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 77-78.

<sup>39</sup> Yacoub, 563-67 (p. 567).

<sup>40</sup> Jawad, 61-104 (p. 77).

<sup>41</sup> Maaruf, p 81.

<sup>42</sup> *Sufis* are Muslim ascetics or hermits.

<sup>43</sup> *Takya*, the place, usually a building, where the *sufis* gather for praying and performing rituals.

<sup>44</sup> Jawad, 61-104 (p. 102).

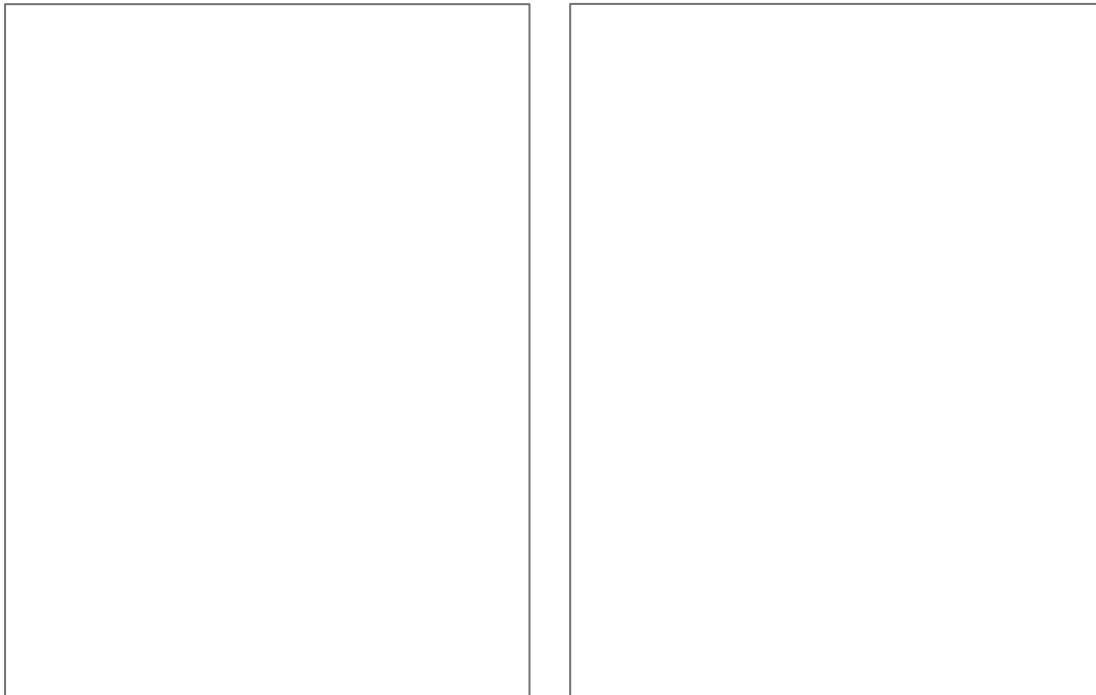
<sup>45</sup> Ibid., (p. 86).

<sup>46</sup> Please see figure 3.1.

<sup>47</sup> Yacoub, 563-67 (p. 566).

<sup>48</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, *Remains of the Abbasid Palace in the Baghdad Citadel* (Baghdad: Printed at Government Press, 1935), p. 3.

enabled him to enter the citadel and discover the *iwan* concealed inside the artillery barracks. Viollet's *iwan* photos were published by the General L. De Beylie in 1907.<sup>49</sup>



Left: Figure 4.01: *iwan* inside the artillery barracks as photographed by Viollet.<sup>50</sup>

Right: Figure 4.02: *iwan* inside the artillery barracks as photographed by Viollet.<sup>51</sup>

As a consequence of Viollet's discovery, Louis Massignon, who obtained a *firman* (an Ottoman imperial order), photographed the *iwan* on 1 March 1908, and drew a diagram showing the route to its location inside the citadel and a *dahliz* (underground passage) that led to vaulted room 10, 2, and 8 meters in length, width and height respectively. Massignon mentions that these vaulted pieces and their ornamentation type dated to the thirteenth century at least, but he also believed that the building might go further back in time.<sup>52</sup>

With respect to the building's architectural significance and physical condition, Sarre and Herzfeld have argued that in spite of being almost destroyed, the brick art demonstrates a peak in craftsmanship and that, as a built example, it manifests a greater mastery of the material and a more mature artistic treatment than many of its contemporaries. Sadly, the only surviving elements of the former arcaded courtyard

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<sup>49</sup> Léon Marie Eugène de Beylié, *Prome Et Samara: Voyage Archéologique En Birmanie Et En Mésopotamie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1907), pp 28-32.

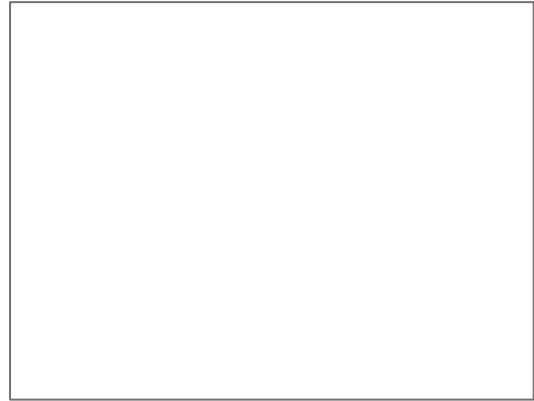
<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p 29.

<sup>52</sup> Louis Massignon, *Mission En Mesopotamie (1907-1908)* (Le Caire Imprimerie De L'Institut Francais D'Archeologie Orientale 1912), pp. 84-85.



building in AD 1907-08 were a wall with near-ruined brick ornamentations, the vaulted room, and the main *iwan*.<sup>53</sup>



Left: Figure 4.03: Diagram shows the route to the *iwan* inside the citadel in AD 1908<sup>54</sup>

Right: Figure 4.04: *iwan* inside the citadel as photographed by Massignon.<sup>55</sup>

The so-called Abbasid palace was heavily intervened with and lavishly restored during the period from AD 1934 to 1975. However, I have identified three main conservation stages conducted by the General Directorate of Ancient Antiquities and will argue that each had its own approach, determined not solely by practitioners on the ground, but through the influence of the contemporary political environment as well. The first stage was achieved during al-Husri's tenure, the second completed in the transitional period between the departure of al-Husri – after setting the Iraqi political scene for a strong Arab nationalist movement – and the revolution of the Arab Ba'ath party, and the third was undertaken under the revolutionary reign of the Ba'ath. Several questions are to be posed here. To what extent did saving the political and national symbolic values of the Abbasid Palace affect the degree of intervention at each stage? How did that undermine the significance generated from other values? To what extent were these interventions in line with conservation ethics as outlined in the contemporaneous international conservation charters?

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<sup>53</sup> Friedrich Sarre, and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise Im Euphrat- Und Tigris-Gebiet*. Vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag Von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1920), pp. 170-171.

<sup>54</sup> Massignon, p. 85.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, PL. XXIV.

Figure 4.05: Plan of the *iwān* and the ruined wall as drawn by Sarre and Herzfeld.<sup>56</sup>

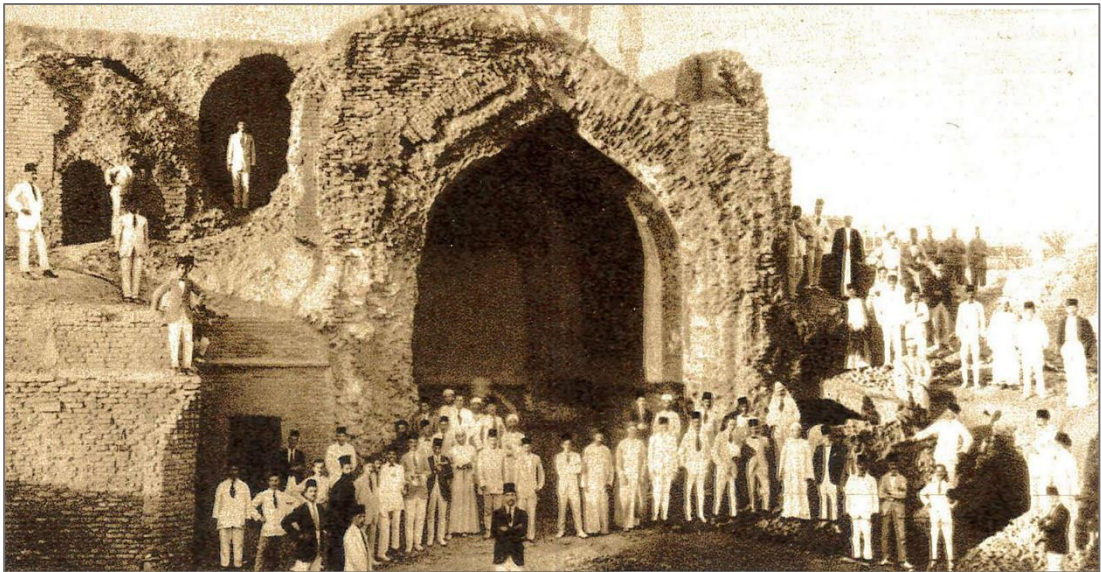


Figure 4.06: Photo of the *iwān* in AD 1923.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>57</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, plate. XXXIV.

### **Abbasid Palace: First Stage of Intervention (AD 1934-1935)**

The first stage in the conservation of the Abbasid palace took place in AD 1934-1935. Interestingly, three distinct temporal layers of architectures were discovered after a detailed survey of the building. The timespan separating the construction of the first and the last is approximately seven centuries at least. In addition to the *iwān*, a somewhat mysterious chamber with unknown function, as mentioned by Louis Massignon previously, was located on the opposite side of the *iwān* and represents the original layer of the building. The chamber and its exquisite corridor have outstanding ornamentations which surpass those in the *iwān* or even in any other known ornamented place in Iraq. However, the chamber and its corridor were without windows and fully enclosed and isolated from the exterior environment to the point that natural light could not penetrate the interiors, except through a hole which had appeared due to the deterioration of its roof. Accessing the chamber required the aid of artificial light and traversing along long dark passage-ways. Consequently, it was only considered by a handful of scholars, who had the opportunity to enter it, as an underground cellar solely accessible by subterranean tunnels.<sup>58</sup>

A fortified tower formed the second layer of architecture, similar to the first and third layers in that its construction date is approximate, but is believed to have been constructed and attached to the original building when firearms were invented and used. The third layer of architecture was added as part of the ammunitions depot to fulfil the Ottoman military's requirements.<sup>59</sup>

The Directorate's initial plan of intervention was to keep all layers as intact as possible while preserving them, but the plan changed consequentially by a dramatic discovery in the chamber. As its roof was almost ruined and its walls and pillars dilapidated, their preservation necessitated the removal of a few adjoining new walls, the function of which was to support the newer architecture of the ammunitions depot new rooms. By doing so, an old wall with outstanding *muqarnas*<sup>60</sup> appeared behind a newly constructed wall.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Oxford dictionary of architecture defines *muqarnas* as a 'Decorative device in Islamic architecture, like a small pointed niche, used in tiers projecting over those below, usually constructed of corbelled brick, stone, stucco, or wood'.

<sup>61</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, p. 2.

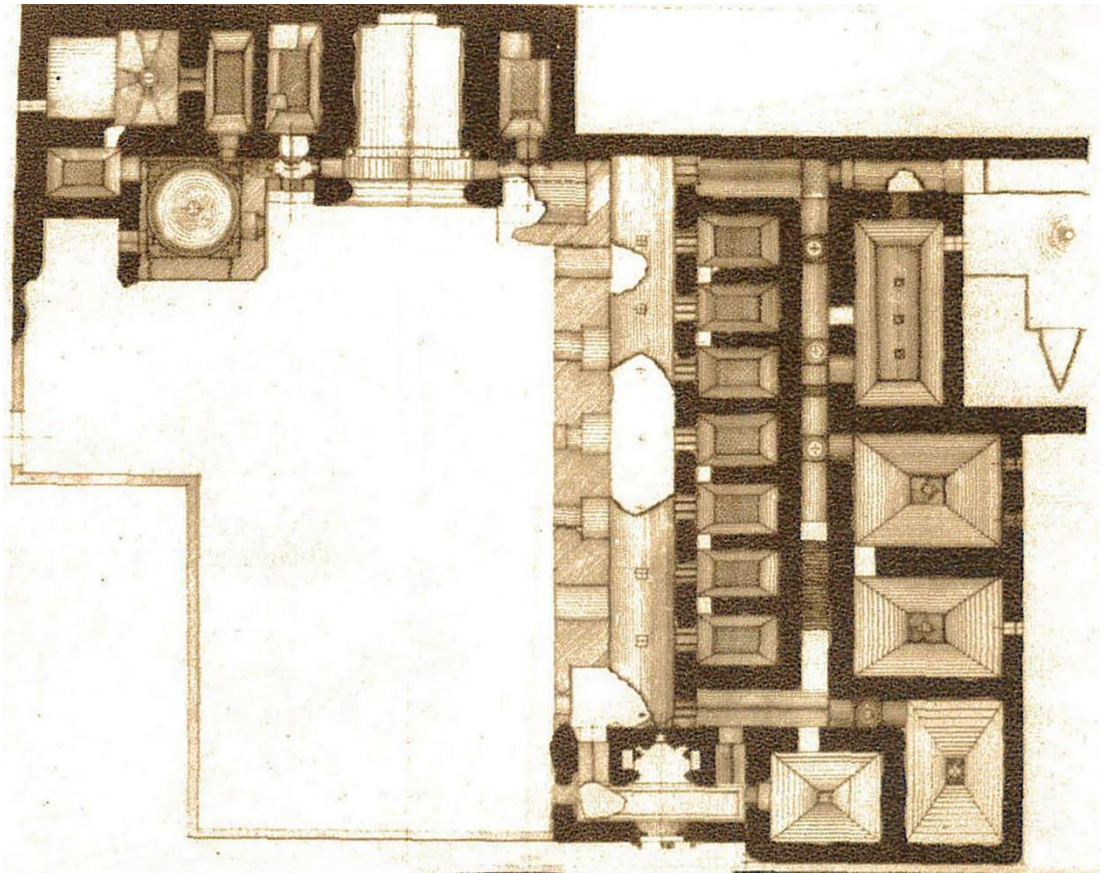


Figure 4.07: Plan of the building before the intervention.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, all walls, domes, and rooms, which formed the third layer of architecture, were demolished and removed along with accumulated debris on the ground in order to reveal the first phase architecture's walls and to consolidate them. This intervention was coupled with an archaeological investigation, through which the Directorate successfully determined the original plan of the building and its internal spaces by excavating specific locations and revealing the building's original foundations. Then, by following the track of the discovered old wall, it was made certain that the wall was a vestige of a long ornamented gallery which connected the *iwan* with the chamber.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., plate XXXXVI.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 3, 6.



Figure 4.08: View of the *iwan* during removing the new layer of architecture.<sup>64</sup>

At the same time, an old opening was found in the riverside facade of the chamber. It was unclear if this was a door or a window owing to it still being connected to a newly constructed military building used by the Iraqi Army. Demolition of this military building was required, and due to the potential significance of the find, the Iraqi Ministry of Defence approved this action.<sup>65</sup>

The old opening proved to be the building's main door that had enabled entry from the riverside, which meant that the original function of the chamber was a *mabain* (meaning between), a double doorway between two sections of the building.<sup>66</sup> Constructing the *mabain* was a common practice in Baghdad to provide privacy for those inside, by linking the main entrance with a chamber that had at least a passage either side of it, while its front face towards the entrance was solid and usually ornamented.<sup>67</sup> In this building, the entrance sequence was to enter from the riverside, passing through the ornamented *mabain* where privacy of the courtyard was maintained, and then turning towards the gallery which provided a continuous shaded corridor leading to the *iwan*.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., plate. XXXV.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture: I', *Ars Islamica*, 9 (1942), 1-53 (pp. 27-29).

<sup>68</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, pp. 6-7.

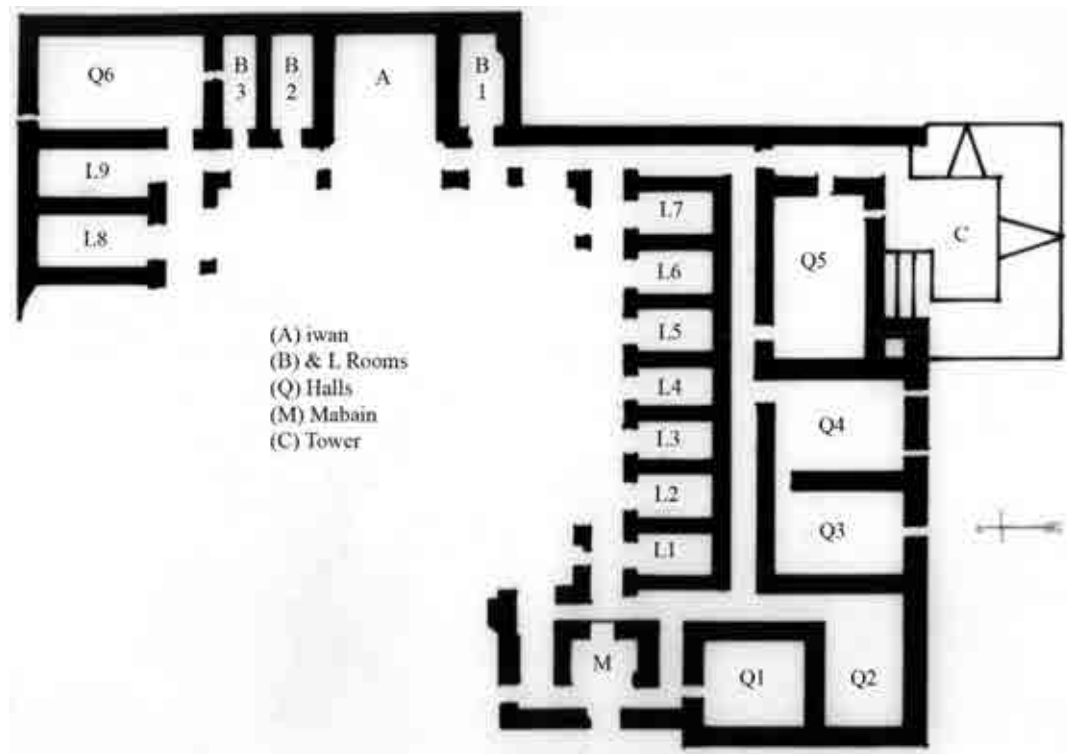


Figure 4.09: Plan of the Building after removing the new layer of architecture.<sup>69</sup>

With respect to the second layer of architecture, the Directorate of Antiquities decided to not only preserve the last vestiges of the original building, but to include the fortified tower in the conservation plan as well. It was argued that belonging to a different temporal architecture alone did not justify demolition by virtue of the tower being valued as an attached ‘edifice’ from a different important era, and its construction, to some extent, does not interfere with or disrupt the original components and layout of the first phase of the building.<sup>70</sup>

Therefore, after removing the third layer of architecture and uncovering the foundations of its lost original parts, the building appeared as a two storey rectangular structure with an almost square courtyard (21.5m by 20m in dimensions). The courtyard was surrounded on three sides by a two-storey ornamented gallery off from which was a sequence of unconnected small rooms.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Adopted from General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, p. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

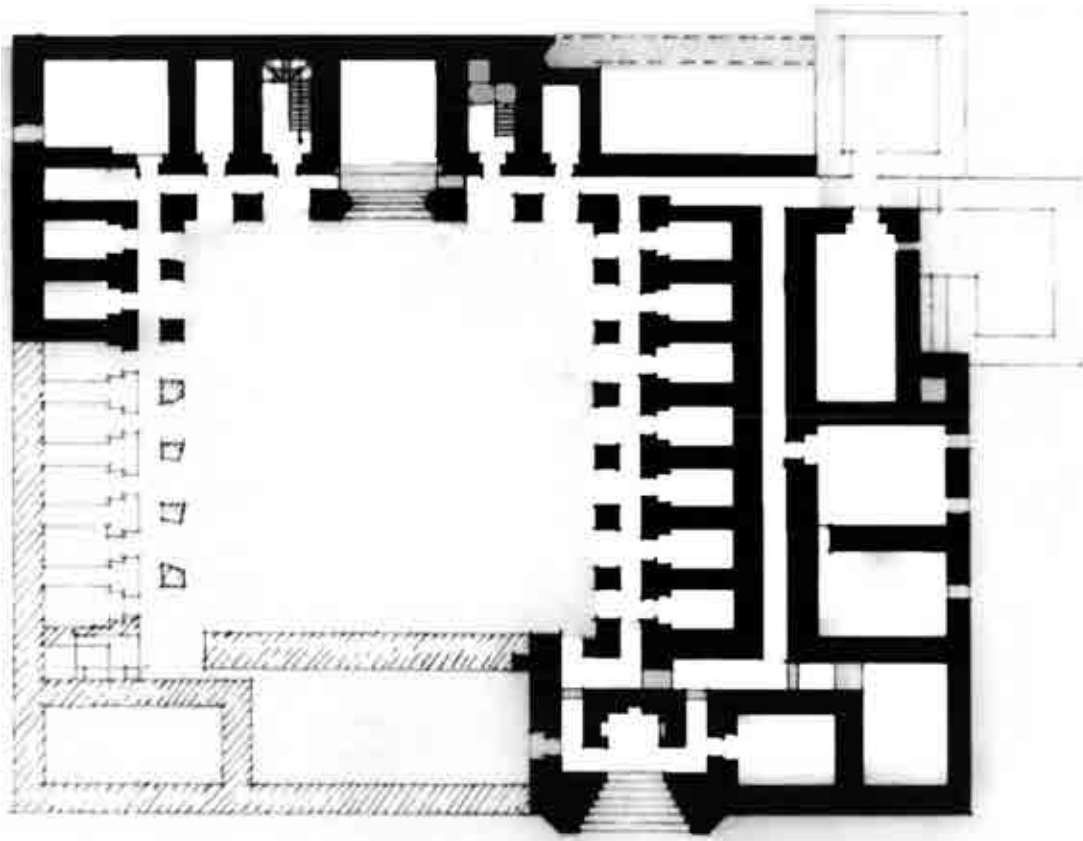


Figure 4.10: Plan of the building after revealing its foundation.<sup>72</sup>

Architectural remains in the southern wing consisted of seven small rooms, behind which was a long high passageway corridor (1.28m wide, 26.70m long and 9.20m high) where entrances to five rectangular halls and to a corridor to the fortified tower are situated. The approximate height of all halls is 9m. In the northern wing, only two small rooms survived. The remains of the eastern wing are the *iwān*, a hall in the northern part of it, and three small rooms. Traces of arches and archways were found in the walls of the two rooms flanking the *iwān*, meaning that there used to be two staircases leading to an upper floor. The southern part of the eastern wing retains only a semi-intact inner solid wall, but it has an arch of a niche almost identical to that of the *mabān* in the riverside entrance. This niche confirms the assumption that there was another entrance to the building and undermines the idea that there were standing parts identical to those in the northern part of the eastern wing or the western part of the Southern wing.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Adopted from the archives of The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in Iraq.

<sup>73</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, pp.12-16.

Sadly, apart from the *mabain* in the western wing and the two small rooms in the northern one, the majority of the building's fabric was lost in these locations.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the building had an almost symmetrical plan, and this was further substantiated when the foundations of northern and western wings, including the gallery's pillars, were located and uncovered.<sup>75</sup>

However, there was no *iwan* in the western wing similar to that of the eastern one, but a commodious hall (12.8m by 4.5m) with a gargantuan archway. The General Directorate of Ancient Antiquities reached this conclusion relying on the fact that the thickness of the hall's foundations is 2.10m, whereas in the *iwan* it is 2.77m. Based on the availability of only this evidence, the Directorate also concluded that they lacked knowledge of the number and the shape of openings and doorways in this hall.<sup>76</sup>

After completing the first stage of intervention – which involved archaeological investigation, removal of the newer fabric, structural consolidation, stabilisation of archaeological remains, and minor repairs to make the building to a certain degree inhabitable – memorial items associated with the nascent state and its late king Faisal I<sup>77</sup> were exhibited in a somewhat makeshift way in the consolidated building.<sup>78</sup>

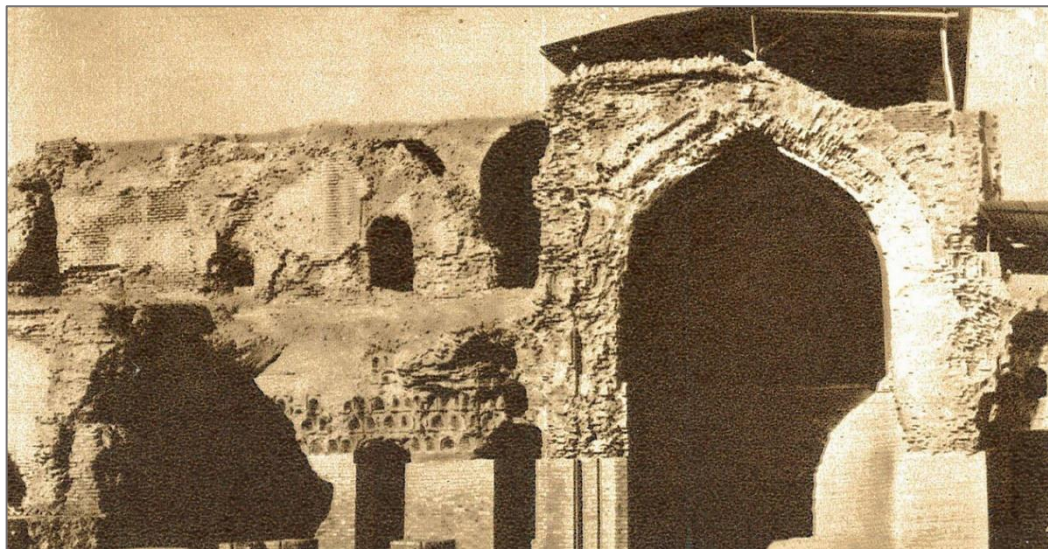


Figure 4.11: View of the eastern wing after the first degree of intervention.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Salima Abdul Rasul, *The Original Artistic Ornaments of the Abbasid Palace in Baghdad* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Information, State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, 1980), pp. 11-12.

<sup>75</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, p. iv.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>77</sup> King Faisal I passed away on 08/09/1933.

<sup>78</sup> A. Wahhab al-Amin, 'Some Notes and Statistics', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq*, I (1945), 135-42 (p. 135).

<sup>79</sup> General Directorate of ancient Antiquities, plate, XXXIX.



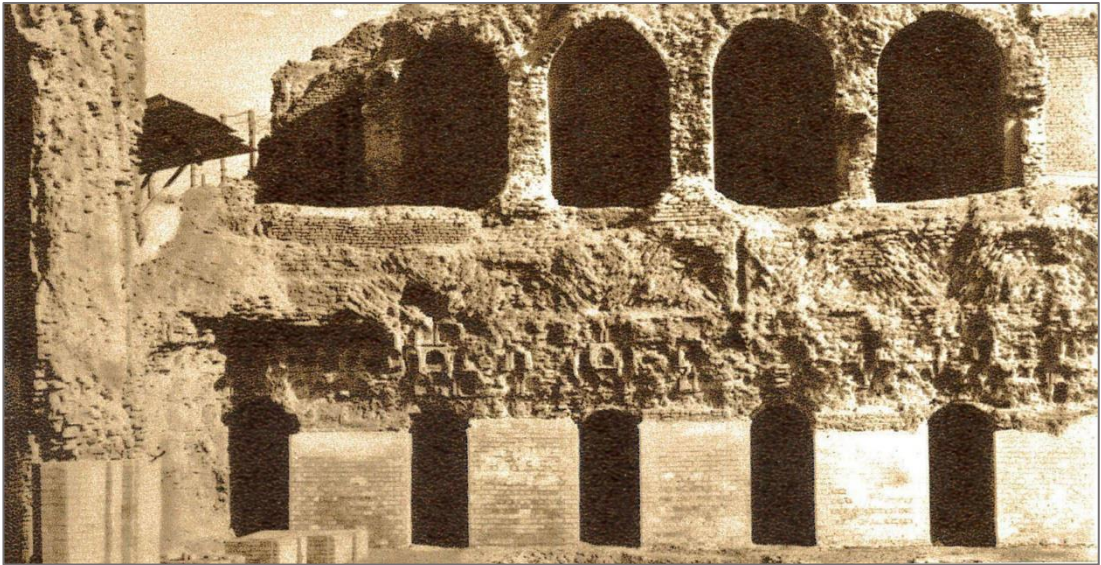


Figure 4.12: View of the southern wings after the first stage of intervention. <sup>80</sup>



Figure 4.13: View of the intersection of the eastern and the southern wings after the first stage of intervention. <sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., plate, XXXXIV.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., plate, XXXX.

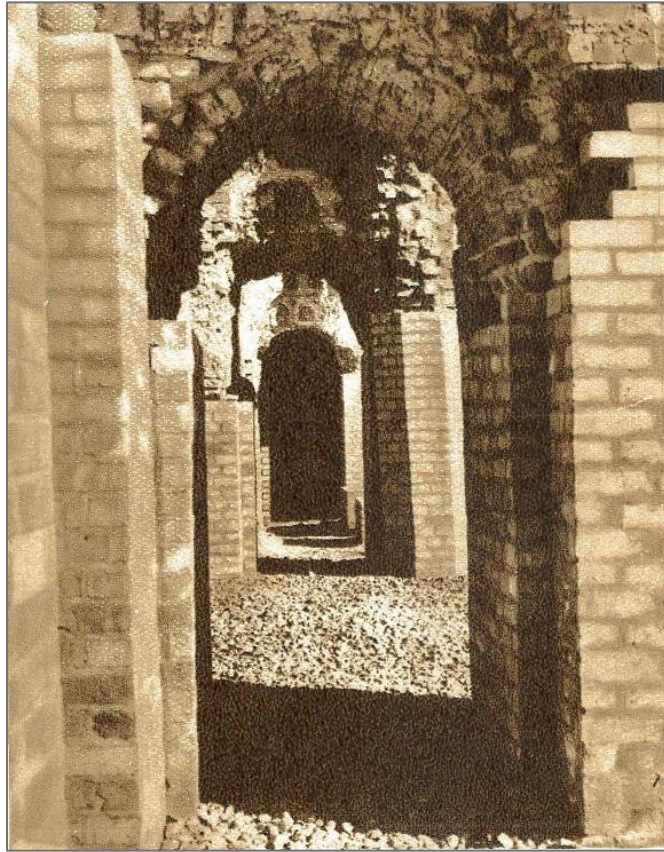


Figure 4.14: View of the gallery after the first stage of intervention.<sup>82</sup>

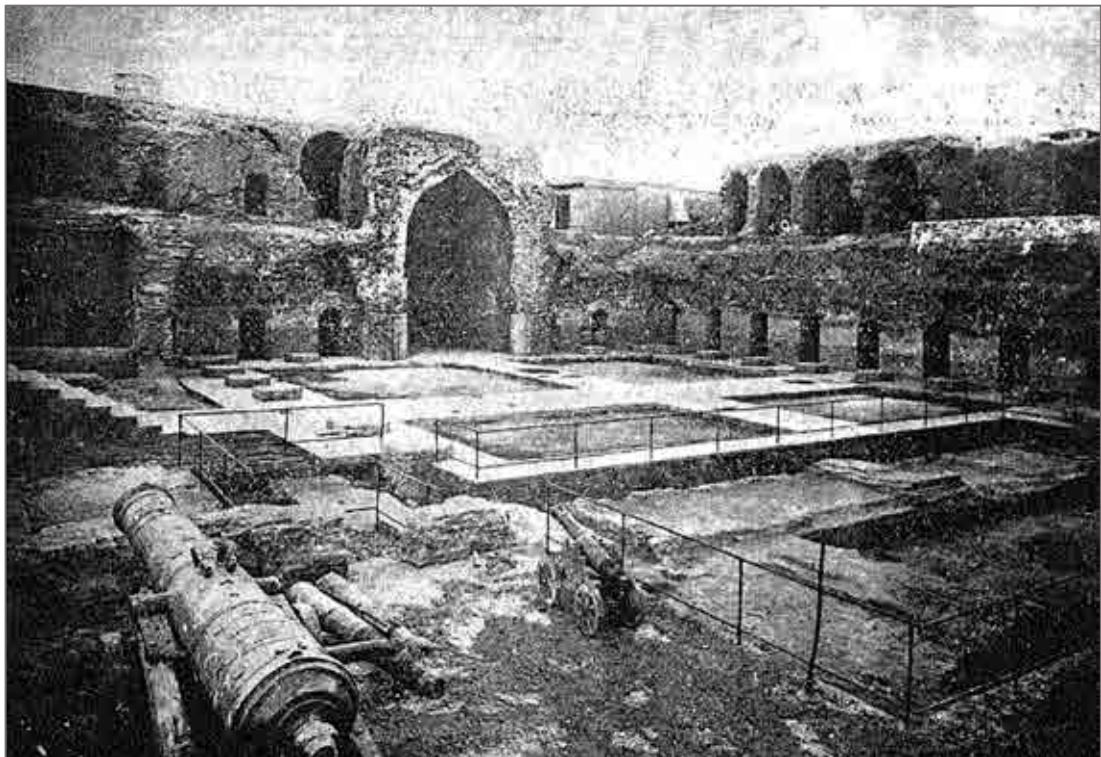


Figure 4.15: The so-called Abbasid Palace after the first stage of intervention.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., plate, XXXXIII.

<sup>83</sup> Jawad, 61-104 (plate, VI).

Apart from considering the original function of the building as a palace without concrete documentary evidence, the conservation work during the first stage of intervention was based on evidence generally and on archaeological evidence in particular. This was achieved by close cooperation between the conservation architect and the archaeological team. Consequently, there was no room for conjecture.

The removal of the recently erected buildings was as result of excavating the original/earlier building and their assessment as being considered less historically and aesthetically valuable. In contrast, the Ottoman fort was considered a significant addition that attached harmoniously to the original.

This was without doubt a minimal intervention, the degree of which was limited to consolidating the vestiges of the original building using modern bricks that can be easily distinguished from the original fabric. This has significant consequences in maintaining the authenticity of the original remains and in greatly mitigating the conflict with the historical (age) value.

Thus, the recommendations of the Athens Charter for The Restoration of Historic Monuments in AD 1931 were applied at this stage:

It should be unnecessary to mention that the technical work undertaken in connection with the excavation and preservation of ancient monuments calls for close collaboration between the archaeologist and the architect.

The experts heard various communications concerning the use of modern materials for the consolidation of ancient monuments. They approved the judicious use of all the resources at the disposal of modern technique and more especially of reinforced concrete.<sup>84</sup>

This was therefore a balanced intervention in which political, aesthetic, historical, architectural, exemplary, and curiosity values were maintained. The influence of Arab nationalism at this stage was evidently solely in channelling adequate resources to conserve the monument.

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<sup>84</sup> League of Nations-Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931) (1931).

### **Abbasid Palace: Second Stage of Intervention (AD 1942-1961)**

As a result of al-Husri's law of AD 1936, and despite the sizable increase of the fund allocated to the General Directorate of Antiquities, it was virtually paralysed in developing a systematic approach to heritage conservation due to the myriad discovered antiquities of a significant historical value. Relics from the distant past were boxed and stored in unsuitable environments in damp building basements that exposed them high levels of moisture. As reported by the General Directorate of Antiquities to an Iraqi Member of Parliament:

We have a copious amount of ancient antiquities of a significant historical value suitable to be exhibited, but they have been stored instead owing to the fact that there is no space for them in our current museums. These antiquities consist of a unique collection of around three thousand cylindrical seals which are the oldest in the world; thousands of gold, silver and metal coins from various eras; sizable collections of statues, metal, pottery, glassware, bone and marble objects; enormous amount of clay tablets comprised mainly of cultural and scientific documents; approximately 150 substantial boxes contain Assyrian stone antiquities and double this amount has been kept unexcavated; significant numbers of boxes comprise gypsum and pottery excavated from Samarra and other Islamic sites, these are under direct threat because of being stored within *Wastani* Gate situated in the old trench surrounding the capital; an uncountable amount of antiquities belonging to various historical periods has been stored in the basement of Khan Mirjan which is deluged with water in the spring of every year.<sup>85</sup>

The second stage of intervention in AD 1942 at the Abbasid Palace, which spanned nearly twenty years, was consequently initiated for two key reasons. First as an attempt by Arab nationalists to aggrandise the monument as part of an emerging cultural-political narrative and second, to accommodate and display this significant collection of historical Arab and Islamic architectural components and antiquities as part of the prioritisation and celebration of an Arab nationalist culture. By adaptively reusing the building as a museum, the Palace remains were culturally repurposed and its name changed in AD 1943 to the *Museum of Arab Islamic Antiquities*.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, the conservation intervention approach was changed from consolidating the building's original remains in the Eastern and Southern wings to fully restoring rooms

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<sup>85</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by Directory of Ancient Antiquities to the Ministry of Information, No. 490 dated 26<sup>th</sup> March 1945.

<sup>86</sup> Taha Baqir, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq (English Section)*, XVII (1961), 1-12 (p. 5).

and halls in those places.<sup>87</sup> This was followed by restoring the *iwān*'s ornaments and its courtyard facade; and by excessively restoring the Southern gallery with its fascinating *muqarnas* in AD 1944-1945.<sup>88</sup>

Then after a fifteen-year hiatus, restoration work expanded to include all rooms and halls on the first floor in the Southern and Eastern wings in AD 1960 and AD1961 respectively.<sup>89-90</sup> This was combined with rebuilding the foundations of the building's missing parts in the northern and western wings to half a metre above pavement level in order to prepare these wings for inclusion in the next conservation stage. Sadly, it was discovered by the excavating investigation that these foundations had been severely damaged by the Ottoman's use of the building with a great number of unexploded artillery bombs and traces of an explosion found as part of the dig.<sup>91</sup>



Figure 4.16: The so-called Abbasid Palace after the second stage of intervention.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Salim Al Alusi, 'New and Correspondence', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XVII (1961), 195-235 (p. 233).

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Salim Al Alusi, 'Brief Statistics and Notes', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq (English Section)*, XVIII (1962), 89-103 (p. 89).

<sup>91</sup> Taha Baqir, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XVII (1961), A-8 (p. 1).

<sup>92</sup> From the archives of The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in Iraq.

Moreover, this rehabilitation of the building necessitated the restoration of the previously consolidated architectural remains. Even though the restoration work, as conducted, adhered to high standards – in terms of recording, documenting, using harmonious and identifiable materials – this increased degree of irreversible intervention significantly undermined the historical, evidential, and exemplary values of the original building remains. In addition, it jeopardised the authenticity of the building in terms of its ontological relationship to the past.

It is noteworthy that a significant number of the exhibits inside the building were transferred to the newly constructed Iraqi National Museum in AD 1963,<sup>93</sup> meaning that the *Museum of Arab Islamic Antiquities* quickly became defunct as a museum and the so-called Abbasid Palace was again considered primarily as a significant national monument.

### **Abbasid Palace: Third Stage of Intervention (AD 1969-1975)**

In the absence of documentary evidence, restoration and reconstruction based solely on conjecture, are the salient points of third stage of intervention approach for the Abbasid Palace (AD 1969-1975). Interventions of this type have been critiqued and rejected through the several international conservation charters. For example, with respect to restoration, The Venice Charter for The Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964) states that:

The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.<sup>94</sup>

Both the Athens and the Venice charters recommend against the practice of reconstructing monuments, except in the case of anastylosis: the use of original materials of a demolished structure.

In the case of ruins, scrupulous conservation is necessary, and steps should be taken to reinstate any original fragments that may be recovered (anastylosis), whenever this

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<sup>93</sup> Sadiq al-Hasani, 'Projects and Works of the General Directorate of Antiquities since 1963', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq*, XIX (1963), 198-218 (p. 202).

<sup>94</sup> ICOMOS, International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter 1964) (1964).

is possible; the new materials used for this purpose should in all cases be recognisable.<sup>95</sup>

All reconstruction work should however be ruled out “*a priori*”. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form.<sup>96</sup>

Despite the recommendations of these international charters, which Iraq ratified, this third stage commenced by reconstructing the building’s gate, which took approximately three years of continuous work to be accomplished (AD 1969-1971) and was divided into three phases: an archaeological investigation, design development, and the selection of ornamentation. The first phase showed that the gate’s foundations were in good condition and could bear the dead load of reconstructing the main body of the gate. This was achieved after digging a trench, 2m in width and 2.5m in depth, alongside the gate’s wall.<sup>97</sup>

The aim of the second phase was to design the gate, and given the fact that the General Directorate of Antiquities has classified the building as an Abbasid Palace, then logically it should have the architectural features of a palace gate and not that of a *madrassa*. However, the design as proposed was based solely on studying and imitating the architectural features and proportions of two ancient *madrassas*’ doors in Baghdad, Mustansiriya and Mirjaniya.<sup>98</sup> As result, the gate’s parts are almost identical to those of the two *madrassas*, and even for the height of the gate it was decided to adopt the same principle of that of the *madrassas* and to be 13.1m, a good 3.1m higher than the highest point in the extant original parts of the building (the remains of the original *iwan*).<sup>99</sup>

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that deciding the exact location of the gate was executed with the utmost precision by relying on three discovered ancient bricks and a vestige of a column belong to the original gate. These elements are part of the gate’s right

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<sup>95</sup> League of Nations-Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments.

<sup>96</sup> ICOMOS, (Venice Charter 1964).

<sup>97</sup> Kadhim al-Janabi, 'The Gate of the Abbasid Palace', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World (Arabic Section)*, XXXVIII (1982), 219-45 (p. 221).

<sup>98</sup> Jawad al-Bayati, 'Baghdad in the Reign of the Revolution', *Al-Mawrid: A Quarterly Journal of Culture and Heritage*, 8 (1979), 149-64 (p. 159).

<sup>99</sup> al-Janabi, (*Arabic Section*), XXXVIII (1982), 219-45, (p. 221).

upper corner that intersected with the roof. From there, plumb bobs were vertically projected to the foundations to construct the base of the gate.<sup>100</sup>



Figure 4.17: The gate of the Abbasid Place after the reconstruction.<sup>101</sup>

The third phase was to select brick ornaments to decorate the gate's faces. The selection is a mere imitation of the rich variety of existing ornaments in the *iwān*, *mabāin* and the gallery,<sup>102</sup> but the exact location of where to apply such

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 221.

<sup>101</sup> Taken by the author.

<sup>102</sup> Tariq Jawad Al Janabi, *Studies in Mediaeval Iraqi Architecture* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Information, State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, 1982), p. 71.



ornamentations on the gate's parts followed the same principle adopted in Mustansiriya and Mirjaniya madrasas.<sup>103</sup>

The heavy restoration and reconstruction based on conjecture continued to include all missing parts in the eastern, northern, and western wings, started by restoring the gallery's elevation that flanked the *iwan* on the first floor.<sup>104</sup> Then the ground floor rooms in the northern wing were constructed, based on the traces of the original foundations, and an ornamental gallery in front of them built identical to that on the opposite side of the courtyard.<sup>105</sup> The first floor rooms were completed by relying on what was erected on the ground floor.<sup>106</sup> With this wing completed, the courtyard was enclosed on three sides, which gave it a feel of what it must have been like when originally constructed.<sup>107</sup>

After this, efforts and resources were channelled to achieve a full enclosure of the courtyard by completing the western wing,<sup>108</sup> yet here another contradiction of being a palace and heavily intervened with as a *madrasa* is evident in the way in which the commodious hall's foundations, opposite the *iwan*, were re-evaluated. Without emergence of new evidence since the acknowledgment of the lack of knowledge by the Directorate in terms of the hall's original function and shape in the first stage, and by relying solely on the plan of Mustansiriya *madrasa*, it reconsidered as a small mosque whose *mihrab*<sup>109</sup> was reconstructed as an almost identical copy to that of Mustansiriya.<sup>110</sup> Consequently, the architectural form and the design of its openings resulted entirely from the practitioner's imagination.

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<sup>103</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (English Section)*, XXVI (1970), a-k (p. g).

<sup>104</sup> Sadiq al-Hasani, 'Accomplishments and Projects of the Directorate General of Antiquities', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XXVI (1970), 411-28 (p. 416).

<sup>105</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XXVII (1971), a-o (p. c).

<sup>106</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World (Arabic Section)*, XXX (1974), a-u (p. m).

<sup>107</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (English Section)*, XXVII (1971), a-k (p. c).

<sup>108</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World (English Section)*, XXX (1974), a-p (p. j).

<sup>109</sup> Oxford dictionary of architecture defines *mihrab* as a 'semicircular, polygonal, or rectangular niche or recess, chamber, or slab in the *qibla* wall of a mosque, often elaborately decorated, indicating the direction of Mecca'.

<sup>110</sup> Vincenzo Strika, 'The Qasr Abbasi', in *The Islamic Architecture of Baghdād: The Results of a Joint Italian-Iraqi Survey*, ed. by Vincenzo Strika and Jābir Khalīl (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1987), pp. 71-74 (p. 72).



Figure 4.18: View of the eastern wing after the reconstruction of the first floor.<sup>111</sup>



Figure 4.19: View of the western wing after its reconstruction, the gate is higher than the wing in similar way to that in Mustansiriya *madrasa*.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Taken by the author.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

The General Directorate of Antiquities also set the scene for extra aggrandisement to the building by severing it from its surroundings in an attempt to transmute it into a dominating Abbasid monument. The demolition of adjacent buildings and a reduction in ground levels not only led to isolating the building from its continuous urban fabric, but engendered additional conservation challenges represented by the need to reconstruct missing external walls and apply ornamentations to all of its newly exposed ones.<sup>113</sup> Similar to the gate reconstruction, ornaments were imitated from original designs employed in the buildings.<sup>114</sup> Again, this cannot be considered as an isolated practice in Baghdad at this time, as it corresponds to the contemporary freeing of the Mustansiriya *madrassa* from its urban fabric.<sup>115</sup> The contemporaneous Venice Charter recommends that:

The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed.<sup>116</sup>

Another controversy attached to the third stage of intervention was generated by replacing all bricks used in the previous stages of intervention, which could be easily distinguished from those that constitute the vestiges of the original building, by a replica of an ancient type identical to that found within the original remains.<sup>117,118</sup> Thus, differentiation between the authentic remains and the newly restored parts has become impossible, resulting in the total loss of evidential value. The Venice charters states that:

Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.<sup>119</sup>

With respect to the Ottoman fort, a full restoration of its ceiling and its walls' external and internal faces was achieved by using carved bricks.<sup>120</sup> It is noteworthy that prior to restoration the fort's walls were infested with termites, which weakened its

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<sup>113</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World (English Section)*, XXXI (1975), a-i (p. h).

<sup>114</sup> al-Janabi, (*Arabic Section*), XXXVIII (1982), 219-45 (pp. 222-223, 236).

<sup>115</sup> Salman, 'Foreword', (*Arabic Section*), XXX (1974), a-u (p. m).

<sup>116</sup> ICOMOS, (Venice Charter 1964).

<sup>117</sup> Salman, 'Foreword', (*English Section*), XXVI (1970), a-k (p. g).

<sup>118</sup> Salman, 'Foreword', (*English Section*), XXVII (1971), a-k (p. b).

<sup>119</sup> ICOMOS, (Venice Charter 1964).

<sup>120</sup> Isa Salman, 'Foreword', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XXVI (1970), a-m (p. i).

integrity, and it suffered from dampness and sulphate deposits, but these challenges were overcome by digging its base and replacing its earth with pure sand to work as a means of naturally withdrawing dampness from the walls. In addition to the layer of sand, concrete tiles and sulphate-resisting cement were used to pave the ground.<sup>121</sup>

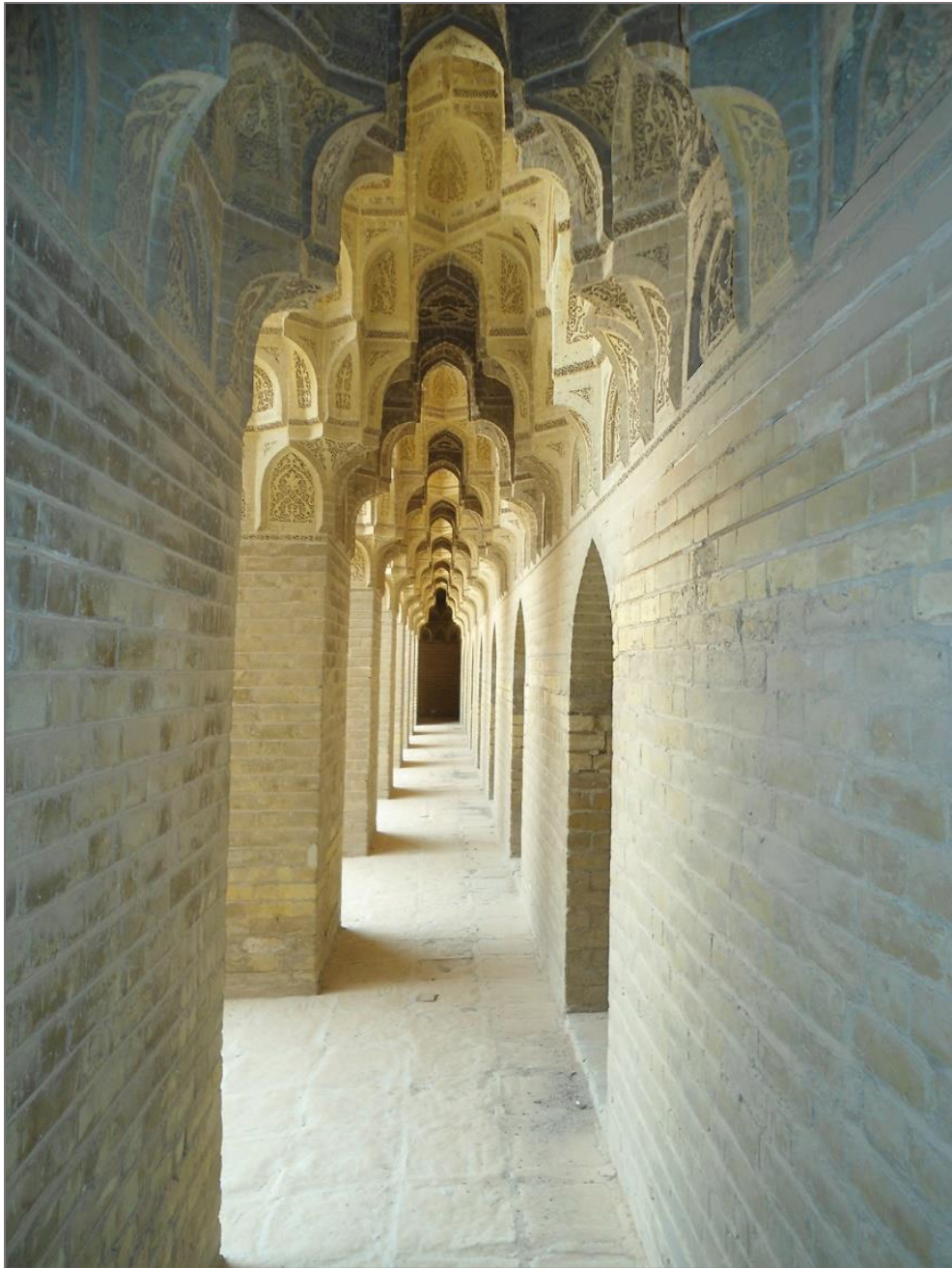


Figure 4.20: View of the southern gallery after replacing all bricks in its side walls.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Salman, 'Foreword', (*English Section*), XXVII (1971), a-k (pp. b-c).

<sup>122</sup> Taken by the author.



Figure 4.21: View of the Ottoman fort after the restoration.<sup>123</sup>



Figure 4.22: View of the Ottoman fort after the restoration.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>124</sup> Ibid.



Figure 4.23: View of the *mabain*.<sup>125</sup>

The only elements of the building that have survived all stages of intervention and remained intact, as erected by the Abbasid dynasty, are now the upper part of the *mabain* and its exquisite ornamented passageway.<sup>126</sup> Nonetheless, the intervention in this zone consisted of reconstructing two geometrical decorated brick columns on each side of the chamber and restoring the walls up to the height of 3 m.<sup>127</sup>

Apart from the political motives, there is clearly no justification for the alarming magnitude of the third stage of intervention approach to the conservation of the

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Salima Abdul Rasul, *The Abbasid Palace in Baghdad* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture & Information, State Organization of Antiquities & Heritage, 1981), p. 21.

<sup>127</sup> Salman, 'Foreword', (*English Section*), XXVI (1970), a-k (p. g).

building, and it has lost its authenticity and the majority of the values that combined in determining its significance. Thus, it can now perhaps be considered almost as a new building which reflects the revolutionary attitudes of its Ba'athist creators. In AD 1981 the general director of the General Institute of Antiquities and Heritage described the so-called Abbasid Palace and its conservation as:

A rare and precious pearl in the crown of the Arab culture, its conservation work was not easy, it took decades to be accomplished. Thus, we present it today as a gift to the president and the leader Saddam Hussein and to the all-Arab nation.<sup>128</sup>

The third stage of intervention in the so-called Abbasid Palace is not a new phenomenon in conservation history. It is an echo of those heritage interventions in the midst of the rise of nationalism in Europe in the nineteenth century. It is part of the stylistic restoration as practised by Viollet-le-Duc in France and George Gilbert Scott in England.<sup>129</sup> Aylin Orbasli outlines the main characteristics of this stylistic approach:

The word restoration had become synonymous with the reordering and reconstruction of monuments, often with little proven evidence, to what was thought to be the original design intention or simply to establish an assumed symmetry.<sup>130</sup>

While Bernard Feilden sheds light on the reasons for embracing such an approach.

Due to the political pressures applied by religious and ethnic groups, conservation work is often distorted, and such groups often wish to rewrite history by seeking to restore too much. Viollet-le-Duc succumbed to the political pressure of the Emperor Napoleon III in France, when he made his stylistic restoration of Pierrefonds near Paris. Nations that have established themselves rather recently are prone to use historic sites as an element of their political programmes, in order to confirm their identity.<sup>131</sup>

Thus, to mobilize heritage, the Arab nationalists in Baghdad in the second half of the twentieth century influenced the use of an identical conservation approach to that used under the pressure of European nationalists in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>128</sup> Abdul Rasul, *The Abbasid Palace in Baghdad*, p. 5.

<sup>129</sup> Jokilehto Jukka, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), p.138.

<sup>130</sup> Aylin Orbasli, *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell Science, 2008), p. 17.

<sup>131</sup> Bernard M. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*. 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford Architectural Press, 2003), p. x.

## **Conclusion**

The effects of the rise of Arab nationalism on heritage management and practice in Baghdad were significant. The literature of Sati' al-Husri, the founder of the movement who became the director of the General Directorate of Ancient Antiquities shortly afterwards, set out the view that non-Arab heritage in the Arab homeland was a source of pride, but not an essential element in forming the identity of the nation. To celebrate this pride, al-Husri was instrumental in enacting a new law to stop the Western exploitation of the Mesopotamian antiquities, but his focus was more clearly directed to those aspects of Arab heritage that could provide the nation with its consciousness, and which necessitated attention upon Arab monuments in the city. Such a focus continued after al-Husri's tenure, as part of the establishment of a strong nationalist movement.

Despite the controversy germane to its original function, the so-called Abbasid Palace was selected by al-Husri and his nationalist successors as a conservation project that was synonymous with the return to an Arab golden age.

The first stage (AD 1934-1935) accomplished during al-Husri's tenure in the awakening of Arab nationalism, adopted a modern conservation approach and was in line with that recommended by the Athens international charter. It paid special attention to the extant vestiges of the building as authentic remains from the past and the conservation work was restricted to consolidate these remains. The second stage (AD 1942-1961) was triggered by the need to exhibit Arab and Islamic antiquities and to aggrandise the building as an Arab monument. This necessitated restoring the previously consolidated remains resulting in reducing the historical value of the monument.

The third stage (AD 1969-1975) was achieved during the revolutionary reign of Ba'ath, whose core belief was that the Resurrection of the nation required a resurrection of its splendid past. Therefore, excessive restoration and reconstruction based solely on conjecture were the main features of this final intervention. It is without doubt that the practitioners on the ground were meticulous in reconstructing on the exact foundations, but the political environment significantly influenced the overall approach that was conjectural in the elevational and ornamental treatment of the reconstructed building.



Thus, when Arab nationalism reached the level of a revolutionary movement, instead of adopting modern approaches, the practice reverted backwards and was identical to the approach practised in Europe in the nineteenth century. The next chapter extends the debate about heritage in Baghdad and examines the change of heritage practices under the reign of a dictatorship.

## Chapter 5

### Heritage under Dictatorship

As part of a broader political narrative in which heritage was considered a political exigency during the rule of the former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein (AD 1979-2003), and to serve the aims of the dictatorship, the balance between modernity and tradition altered in the latter part of the twentieth century in Iraq. This was significant in terms of the historic core of Rusafa, and the effects of adopting a particular narrative and its abrupt change on its architectural heritage and on conservation management and practice more generally will be explored through an examination of several contemporaneous redevelopment and conservation projects conducted in Rusafa during this period. By resurveying the survey of AD 1977 this chapter demonstrates that the changing narrative of the political regime led to the neglect of architectural heritage in the historical core of Rusafa and to a decline in its significance.

#### Modernity and Traditions

“Tradition” means the chain of revealed truth, wisdom and knowledge, which is transmitted and renewed generation by generation, thus linking various successive layers of temporal existence to the primordial reality which originated them.<sup>1</sup>

Based on Stefano Bianca’s definition, traditions should undergo a two-phase process of transmission and renewal. The first phase is essential and without transmission, traditions will gradually disappear. If the second phase is omitted, traditions become static and considered reactionary, a source of boredom,<sup>2</sup> and a potential hindrance to innovation and change.<sup>3</sup> But once the second phase is applied, traditions become fertile soil for inventions and new ideas. Indeed, ‘*new concepts do not spring from nothing or from mysterious external sources. They come from old ones*’.<sup>4</sup> For this reason,

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<sup>1</sup> Stefano Bianca, *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Juhani Pallasmaa, 'Newness, Tradition, and Identity', in *Human Experience and Place: Sustaining Identity*, ed. by Paul Brislin (London: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2012), pp. 14-21 (p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> Saleh Al-Hathloul, 'Continuity in a Changing Tradition', in *Legacies for the Future: Contemporary Architecture in Islamic Societies*, ed. by Cynthia C. Davidson (London: Thames and Hudson, and The Aga Khan Award of Architecture, 1998), pp. 18-31 (p. 22).

<sup>4</sup> Chris Abel, *Architecture and Identity: Responses to Cultural and Technological Change*. 2nd edn (Oxford: Architectural Press, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000), pp. 103, 131.

traditions have to be reinvented and re-established by every generation, and from this continuum, all human meaning and knowledge emerge.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, traditions cannot be weakened, eroded, or obliterated by modernity, but by discontinuity arisen from breaking the first phase of transmission. Yet, it is undeniable that a controversy surrounds the debate about modernity and tradition, which springs from how to balance the necessity of cultural continuity, the need for progress and development,<sup>6</sup> and from how to look to ‘the future whilst being rooted in the past’.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the emphasis should be placed upon continuities and discontinuities of traditions rather than solely on modernity.<sup>8</sup> Anthony Giddens highlights the continuity between tradition and modernity:

Obviously there are continuities between the traditional and the modern, and neither is cut of whole cloth; it is well known how misleading it can be to contrast these two in too gross a fashion.<sup>9</sup>

He attributes discontinuity to three features. First, to the pace of change, that is to dramatic changes occurring in a small segment of historical time, which have had overwhelming effects on societies since rapid pace can lead to failures in interpreting changes based on knowledge from periods prior to any transition. The scope of change is the second source of discontinuity, and it is evident in the ubiquity of transformation. Third, is the intrinsic nature of modern institutions, such that in past eras some social forms did not exist, for example, the national state political system or production methods depending solely on inanimate power sources.<sup>10</sup> These three factors have formed a chasm between tradition and modernity.

Thus, the way in which modernity was politically imposed on Rusafa historic core in the beginning of 1980s had a significant effect on the traditional neighbourhood and its cultural heritage, as will be examined in the following section.

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<sup>5</sup> Pallasmaa, pp. 14-21 (pp. 18-19).

<sup>6</sup> Vincent B. Canizaro, 'Introduction', in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. by Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), pp. 16-33 (p. 22).

<sup>7</sup> Tim Makower, 'Doha Renaissance: Msheireb Reborn', in *Architecture and Globalisation in the Persian Gulf Region*, ed. by Murray Fraser and Nasser Golzari (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 359-81 (p. 360).

<sup>8</sup> Abel, p. 136.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1990), pp. 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

### **Heritage production as exigency of war**

As a result of Baghdad's rapid expansion through construction of modern districts outside its historical cores, it became increasingly apparent that non-ancient heritage was under threat and a report was commissioned and produced by an external contractor (Polish firm, Polservice) in AD 1973 with recommendations to recognize and protect non-ancient heritage. The *Baghdad comprehensive development plan towards the year AD 2000* emphasised the importance of not only preserving ancient monuments, but including traditional architecture as well to present the uniqueness of Baghdad and maintain to its identity. The plan indicated that since Iraq has ratified the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)*, a comprehensive survey should be conducted, and that all buildings and sites of historical and architectural value, as well as archaeological sites, should be documented. The survey was to provide a platform on which selected examples of Baghdadi traditional houses could be listed and restored.<sup>11</sup> The plan was the first initiative to consider some Baghdadi traditional domestic architecture as part of Baghdad's wider architectural heritage. Consequently, the Iraqi law of ancient antiquities of AD 1936 (al-Husri's law) was amended in AD 1974. The amendment removed the word 'ancient' that precedes the word 'antiquities' in the law of AD 1936 and reduced the age of what should be considered heritage to 200 years or older instead of the cut-off date of AD 1700 (as described in the law of AD 1936). Moreover, a ministerial decree was sanctioned that could designate as heritage those buildings or structures, that were less than 200 years of age, if they possessed historic, national, religious, or artistic values.<sup>12</sup>

This not only broadened what constitutes heritage, but meant that heritage could now be considered heritage without being ancient in origin. Baghdadi heritage was no longer defined on archaeological grounds and the heritage list could be expanded dramatically as less emphasis was paid on age value when determining criteria for what constitutes heritage.

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<sup>11</sup> Polservice, 'Baghdad Comprehensive City Development Plan 2000', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1973), pp. 120-21.

<sup>12</sup> 'The Iraqi Law Number 120 in 1974: The First Amendment of the Ancient Antiquities Law Number 59 of 1936', (Baghdad: The Republic of Iraq, 1974).

Despite the sudden strength of the Iraqi economy – which was generated largely from nationalizing the oil industry in AD 1972<sup>13</sup> – the recommendations of the comprehensive development plan and the amendment of the antiquities law were not implemented until a trilogy of significant national and international political events had occurred. In AD 1979 Baghdad was selected to accommodate the Seven Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement<sup>14, 15</sup> which was scheduled to be convened in AD 1982;<sup>16</sup> Saddam Hussein seized power, becoming the President of Iraq on 16 July 1979; the Iraq-Iran War started on 22 September 1980.<sup>17</sup> These events necessitated a significant focus on identity and national pride.

Saddam was an artful master of employing history in the service of state ideology. He mobilized the Pan-Arab nationalists by relying on a mythic past and portraying the Iraq-Iran conflict, not a modern war between Iraqis and Iranians, but as a mythic and existential war between all Arabs and Persians. This is evident in his speech in AD 1980: ‘You are fighting in order for all Arabs to rise from their slumbers and humiliations.’<sup>18</sup> ‘We do not need a war with Iran, the war is not our decision, but we have a decision in taking back all Iraqi lands raped by the Persians.’<sup>19</sup> In addition, images of an old alleged mythic conflict were evoked when Saddam linked the war to Qaddisiya, a historic battle that took place in AD 637 in the southwest of the current state of Iraq. It was here that Sassanid Persia was defeated and the Persians were expelled from Iraq by the Arab Muslims of the Arabian Peninsula,<sup>20</sup> paving the road

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<sup>13</sup> Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, and Ihsan Fethi, *Baghdad: Yesterday and Today* (Baghdad: Amanat Al-Assima, 1987), p. 147.

<sup>14</sup> The role of Non-Aligned Movement is described by its seven summit conference: ‘Conceived in the context of the struggle against colonialism and the growing polarization of international relations resulting from military blocs, military alliances and the cold war, the Movement has consistently struggled for the all-round emancipation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and other parts of the world... The Non-Aligned Movement was the inevitable result of the felt need of newly independent countries in all parts of the world to protect and strengthen their notional independence. These countries saw in non-alignment a decisive instrument for exercising their full sovereignty in political and economic matters’.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Final Documents of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983’, (1983), p. 53.

<sup>16</sup> Dietmar Rothermund, ‘The Era of Non-Alignment’, in *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War*, ed. by Nataša Mišković, Harald Fischer-Tiné and Nada Boškovska (Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 19-34 (p. 29).

<sup>17</sup> Edmund A. Ghareeb, and Beth Dougherty, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004), p. xxv.

<sup>18</sup> Mahdi Husain al-Basri, *Between the First Qadisiyya and Qadisiyyat Saddam* (Baghdad: Ministry of Culture and Media, Dar al-Jahith Press, 1980), p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Hani Wahaiab, *Some of the Meanings of ‘Qadisiyyat Saddam’* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Media, 1980), p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Adeed I. Dawisha, ‘Iraq: The West's Opportunity’, *Foreign Policy*, 41 (1980), 134–53 (p. 134).

towards the spread of Islam in the whole geographical area of what today constitutes Iran.<sup>21</sup>

By officially employing the Qaddisiya narrative and naming the war as the *second Arab Qadisiyya: Qadisiyyat Saddam* (Saddam's own Qadisiyya),<sup>22</sup> Saddam not only succeeded in justifying the war under the pretext of defending the eastern flank of the Arab world, but in promoting 'his cult of personality, portraying himself as a latter-day Arab hero'.<sup>23</sup> This was an Arab hero who was not aiming to lead from Baghdad the Arab World only, but the nations of the Third World as well. Baghdad and the trilogy of the conference, the war, and Saddam are vividly depicted in Kanan Makiya's book *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq*:

Consider the implications of a victorious Saddam Husain, recently host of the anti-Camp David Arab summit, receiving in this new Baghdad the mantle of Third World leadership from Fidel Castro (with echoes of Nasser and Tito reverberating in the background), disposing of "Arab" territory as the spoils of a fragmenting Iran, and master of the Gulf.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, Baghdad as a built city should logically match its new political status as a capital of Arabs and the Third World countries. Saddam considered modernizing the city while maintaining a strong link to its glorious past as exigencies of war. From 16 to 19 September 1980, less than a week after launching the war against Iran, Saddam attended *Our Architectural Heritage and the New Arab Architecture*, a conference held in Baghdad on modernity and traditions in architecture.<sup>25</sup> In addition, from 8 to 10 November 1981 in the midst of the war, he hosted another conference germane to the development of the city which attended by many renowned international architects and planners.<sup>26</sup> In the AD 1981 conference, Saddam focused on the idea of *khususiya*<sup>27</sup> and its implications on the city. Despite being associated with traditions, Saddam's *khususiya* rejected a pure return to the past, and instead it should be

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<sup>21</sup> Kanan Makiya, *The Monument: Art and Vulgarities in Saddam Hussein's Iraq* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2004), p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> al-Basri, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> D Gershon Lewental, "Saddam's Qadisiyyah": Religion and History in the Service of State Ideology in Ba'thi Iraq', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50 (2014), 891-910 (pp. 894).

<sup>24</sup> Kanan Makiya, *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 273.

<sup>25</sup> Makiya, *The Monument: Art and Vulgarities in Saddam Hussein's Iraq*, p. 70.

<sup>26</sup> Amin Mumayyiz, *Baghdad as I Knew It* (Baghdad: Dar Afac Arabia for Journalism and Publishing 1985), p. 30.

<sup>27</sup> An Arabic word defined by Rifat Chadirji as 'a term derived from an extended meaning of the Arabic word for "character" or "trait"'.

employed as a factor in developing a national style while responding to modern social and political requirements.<sup>28</sup>

After setting his main cultural and political objectives, Saddam delegated the urgent task of modernization the city to Rifat Chadirji, an Iraqi architect with a distinguished national and international reputation, whose approach depended greatly on synthesising traditions and contemporary needs. After being appointed in AD 1980 as a special advisor to the mayor of Baghdad in matters of architecture and urbanism,<sup>29</sup> Rifat Chadirji admitted that ‘cultural and political objectives were determined long before I joined the municipality’.<sup>30</sup> He elaborated that:

The mayor's objectives were to revive and reconstruct Baghdad to create not only a capital worthy of modern Iraq, but an active cultural center for the entire Arab Middle East. These objectives required a policy of development in which the concept of *khususiya* was combined with modernity of high quality.<sup>31</sup>

In order to meet these objectives:

Baghdad was turned overnight into a giant urban construction site: road improvements, parks, new buildings, a crash subway system program, and massive redevelopment of urban areas. Contractors and consultants poured in from all over the world.<sup>32</sup>

Consultant, John Warren, described the unprecedented pace of development that occurred in the city from AD 1980 to AD 1982:

Baghdad is expanding at frenetic pace.<sup>33</sup>... Those of you who know Iraq will recall that eighteen or twenty months ago the country went through a frenzy of development. Every project was called for with enormous speed.<sup>34</sup>

In such a short period of time, the volume of change was overwhelming, there were 150 projects, planned, designed, or implemented. The change was not primarily a

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<sup>28</sup> Rifat Chadirji, and Carlfried Mutschler, 'The Bab Al-Sheikh Project, Baghdad', in *Continuity and Change: Design Strategies for Large-Scale Urban Development*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevckenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1984), pp. 56-69 (p. 56).

<sup>29</sup> Udo Kultermann, 'Contemporary Arab Architecture: The Architects of Iraq', *Mimar 5: Architecture in Development* 1982, pp. 54-61 (p. 60).

<sup>30</sup> Chadirji and Mutschler, pp. 56-69 (p. 56).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-69 (p. 59).

<sup>32</sup> Makiya, *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq*, p. 273.

<sup>33</sup> John Warren, 'The Courtyard Houses of Baghdad: A Rich Heritage', in *The Literary Review: The Arab Cultural Scene*, ed. by Cecil Hourani (London: Namara Press, 1982), pp. 87-94 (p. 87).

<sup>34</sup> John Warren, and Roy Worskett, 'Conservation and Redevelopment of the Kadhimiyeh Area in Baghdad', in *Adaptive Reuse: Integrating Traditional Areas into the Modern Urban Fabric*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevckenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1983), pp. 32-46 (p. 36).

response to social requirements, but overridden by Saddam's obsession with political identity, the mayor of Baghdad and Rifat Chadirji's subjective decisions, and a basic survey to identify what was needed. Rifat Chadirji confesses that:

What I am going to say is rather embarrassing. We had a very short time to prepare Baghdad for the conference, so essentially projects were either based on necessity as determined by a very primitive survey carried out by the administration and the municipality, or suggested by some political body through the mayor, or were the mayor's own ideas; or were my ideas.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, there was not a clear comprehensive plan to identify and implement what was specifically required. Instead, projects were initiated even when some might not be in harmony or could be in conflict with others. Rusafa had its share of this new urgent wave of modernization when two significant areas were selected to be developed: Khulafa Street Project and Bab al-Sheikh Project.



■ Khulafa Street     ■ Bab al-Sheikh Street

Figure 5.01: The location of Khulafa Street and Bab al-Sheikh Street in Rusafa.<sup>36</sup>

The cardinal aim of the Khulafa Street Project was 'the completion of Khulafa Street as a prestigious major axis of modern Baghdad'.<sup>37</sup> The Street, which bisects Rusafa historic core and runs parallel to Al Rashid Street, was a result of the modernization wave of the 1950s when it was proposed by the Development Board to modernize the whole of Iraq. The rationale for its construction in AD 1954 was to resemble an

<sup>35</sup> Chadirji and Mutschler, pp. 56-69 (pp. 58, 65).

<sup>36</sup> Google Earth, map of Rusafa.

<sup>37</sup> Stefano Bianca, 'Designing Compatibility between New Projects and the Local Urban Tradition', in *Continuity and Change: Design Strategies for Large-Scale Urban Development*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevcenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1984), pp. 21-34 (p. 29).



‘American-style commercial street flanked by high-rise office blocks’.<sup>38</sup> Despite the catastrophic effects on Rusafa, which resulted from the wholesale demolition of the old fabric, Khulafa Street was left in a state of neglect after its somewhat partial construction, with only a few freestanding high-rise commercial buildings constructed. Some of the empty plots alongside the Street, meanwhile, were used as informal car parking or for storing goods from the adjacent *sugs*, which constituted a continuous eyesore.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 5.02: Khulafa Street after cutting back the historic fabric.<sup>40</sup>

The lack of a comprehensive plan was evident in the Khulafa Street Project. The project was divided amongst several international consultants. At an urban level, The Architects Collaborative of Cambridge (TAC) were allocated the tasks of creating the master plan for the development of the street and of designing regulations for its buildings. In addition, TAC was allocated the design of two squares, a transportation centre, an extension to the Khulafa Mosque, and other multipurpose buildings. However, their design regulations were not applied to the work of other consultants

<sup>38</sup> Ihsan Abdul Wahab Fethi, 'Urban Conservation in Iraq: The Case for Protecting the Cultural Heritage of Iraq with Special Reference to Baghdad, Including a Comprehensive Inventory of Its Areas and Buildings of Historic or Architectural Interest. Vol.1' (University of Sheffield 1978), pp. (108-111).

<sup>39</sup> John Gulick, 'Baghdad: Portrait of a City IIM Physical and Cultural Change', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 33:4 (1967), 246-55 (p. 254).

<sup>40</sup> From the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

involved in the project, including Sheppard Robson and Partners, Robert Venturi, and Energoprojekt Yugoslavia, who designed individual buildings for the street scheme.<sup>41</sup>



Figure 5.03: Constructing high rise buildings in Khulafa Street.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of the Bab al-Sheikh Development Project, the authorities repeated the same scenario that had occurred in Baghdad and many other ancient cities, when the municipality authorised a project to construct a new street that could accommodate automobiles. Bab al-Sheikh is an old mahalla situated in the south east of Rusafa, and it had significant historic and religious value generated from the existence of al-Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Gailani mosque shrine and the old fabric that encircled it. The new Street runs past the shrine and links Khilany Square to Sheikh Omar Square. Similar to the Khulafa Street Project, the Bab al-Sheikh area was divided into six zones, each of which was allocated to a distinguished international consultant to design an individual development project. Arup Associates of London, Carlfried Mutschler of Germany, John Warren and Architectural and Planning Partnership of Horsham,

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<sup>41</sup> Sohiko Yamada, 'Khurafa Street Development', in *Process: Architecture No. 58: Medinat Al Salaam: Baghdad 1979-83*, ed. by Sohiko Yamada (Tokyo: Process Architecture Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 27-44 (pp. 27-29).

<sup>42</sup> From the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

Richard England of Malta, OTH and van Treek of Paris, and Ricardo Bofill of Barcelona which were allocated zones one to six respectively.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 5.04: Robert Venturi's attempt to synthesize international style with local elements in Khulafa Street.<sup>44</sup>

Indeed, those consultants had diverse cultural backgrounds and distinguished styles, but each of them had to apply Rifat Chadirji's concept of zone compatibility, where the shrine was considered its core and the closer the zone to the shrine, the higher the degree of compatibility with the extant traditional buildings was to be abided. For this reason Zone three, which surrounded the shrine, was declared a conservation area.<sup>45</sup>

However, questions must be asked. Why did Rifat Chadirji and his international team of consultants fail to stop the wholesale demolition resulting from constructing the street in Bab al-Sheikh? Why did they fail to some extent to adopt the concepts of *khususiya* and compatibility between traditions and modernity?

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<sup>43</sup> Sherban Cantacuzino, 'Baghdad Resurgent', *Mimar 6: Architecture in Development* 1982, pp. 56-71.

<sup>44</sup> Adopted from the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

<sup>45</sup> Sohiko Yamada, 'Bab Al Sheikh Development', in *Process: Architecture No. 58: Medinat Al Salaam: Baghdad 1979-83*, ed. by Sohiko Yamada (Tokyo: Process Architecture Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 45-54 (pp. 46-47).

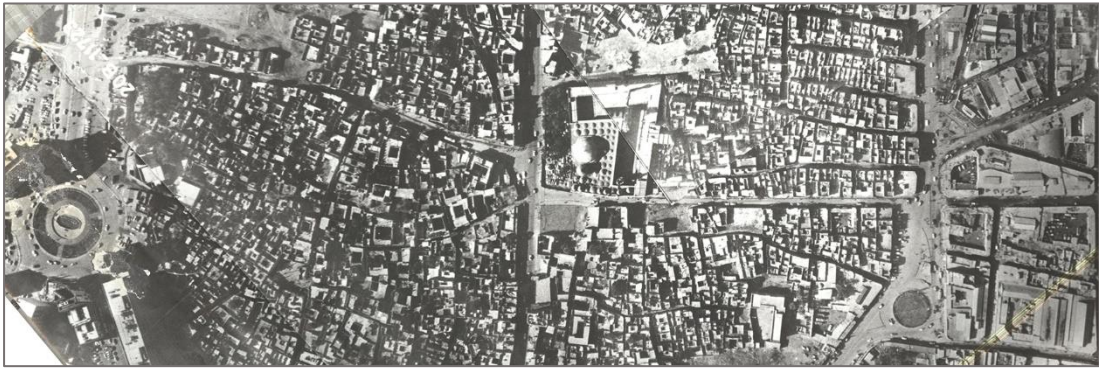


Figure 5.05: An aerial photo shows the dense fabric around al-Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Gailani mosque shrine before constructing Bab al-Sheikh Street.<sup>46</sup>

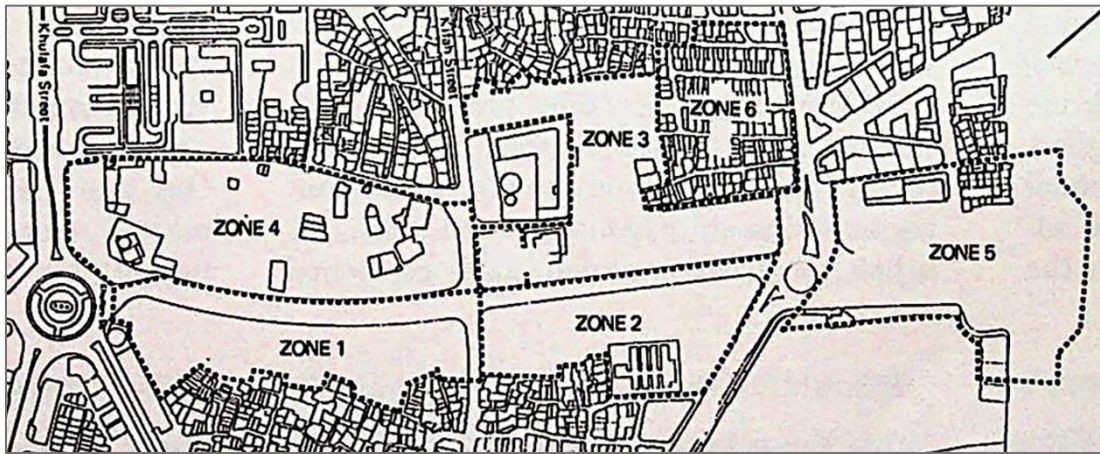


Figure 5.06: Site plan of Bab al-Sheikh after constructing the Street and commissioning the six zones to different international consultants.<sup>47</sup>

Rifat Chadirji has stated that the clearance project was put to public tender prior to his tenure at the municipality.<sup>48</sup> While John Warren, who was responsible for the conservation area, testified that:

We were forced simply to stand back and take a Haussmann-like view of the problem to come up with un-Haussmann-like solutions – for our purpose was certainly not to destroy great swaths of the ancient city in order to superimpose a grandiose vision [...] Historic buildings had already been knocked down in large numbers; the bulldozers were actually on-site, and we were asked, “What should we do?” Our answer was “Stop the bulldozers.” By that time substantial areas had been cleared, and other areas were scheduled for clearance.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> From John Warren’s archives.

<sup>47</sup> Adopted from the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

<sup>48</sup> Chadirji and Mutschler, pp. 56-69 (p. 56).

<sup>49</sup> Warren and Worskett, pp. 32-46 (pp. 37, 46).

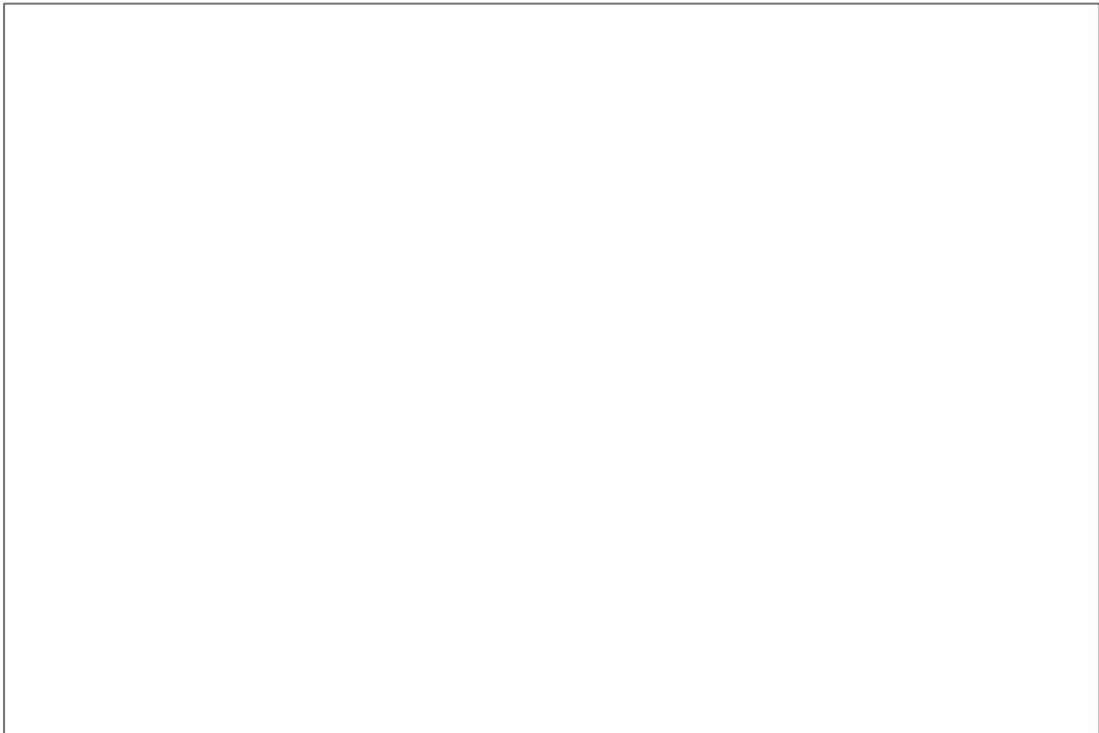


Figure 5.07: Demolishing the dense fabric adjacent to al-Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Gailani mosque shrine.<sup>50</sup>

This was not an isolated incident confined to a Baghdadi context, but can be generalized to the majority of the Third World oil-producing countries, where oil revenue facilitated rapid development projects.<sup>51</sup> Such development, as Stefano Bianca argues, ‘goes wild, and neither the municipality nor the planners can keep up with what is going on’.<sup>52</sup>

However, Rifat Chadirji and his international team were able to save a few individual traditional houses in Baghdad. In parallel to the Bab al-Sheikh Project, John Warren was commissioned to deliver a project focused on the *Conservation of Traditional Houses*.<sup>53</sup> He identified and supervised the restoration of twenty individual traditional houses surrounding the Bab al-Sheikh shrine. Those houses were selected ‘on the basis of significance in location, visual importance as public buildings, current availability,

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<sup>50</sup> From the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

<sup>51</sup> Jim Antoniou, *Islamic Cities and Conservation* (Paris: The Unesco Press, 1981), p. 42.

<sup>52</sup> Stefano Bianca, 'The Workshop Sessions: Reports and Discussions, Workshop 4. Regulation and Administration of Large-Scale Development Projects', in *Continuity and Change: Design Strategies for Large-Scale Urban Development*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevcenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1984), pp. 115-16 (p. 115).

<sup>53</sup> Conservation of Traditional Houses Project was not confined to Rusafa, but included houses in Kadhimain and Karkh historic cores.

physical condition, urgency of repair, quality of construction, and accessibility using a points system'.<sup>54</sup>



Figure 5.08: A traditional Baghdadi house in Bab al-Sheikh area after its restoration by the project of Conservation of Traditional Houses.<sup>55</sup>

Even though it was neither the whole traditional setting nor a group of buildings being selected for the conservation as recommended by the Venice Charter and the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,<sup>56-</sup><sup>57</sup> the restoration of the traditional houses in Bab al-Sheikh shows a major shift in conservation practice in the city in this period. It was the first time that 'relatively humble' non-ancient monuments were to be restored.<sup>58</sup>

It was not the age value that contributed to the significance of the traditional houses in Baghdad, John Warren argues, but their continuity of traditions:

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<sup>54</sup> A Senior British Consultant who worked in Baghdad from AD 1980 to AD 1986, 'Work in Baghdad 1980-1986', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2015).

<sup>55</sup> John Warren, 'Bab Al-Sheikh', in *Conservation of Traditional Houses: Amanat Al-Assima Baghdad*, ed. by John Warren (Baghdad: Coach Publishing, 1984), pp. 16-23 (p. 22).

<sup>56</sup> ICOMOS, International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter 1964) (1964).

<sup>57</sup> UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 1972).

<sup>58</sup> Husham al-Madfai, 'Preface', in *Conservation of Traditional Houses: Amanat Al-Assima Baghdad*, ed. by John Warren (Baghdad: Coach Publishing, 1984), pp. 7-8.

In the mind of the citizens of middle Iraq the house must have had a write-off period just as the motor car has today [...] None of the traditional houses of Baghdad is of any real antiquity, the majority having been built in the nineteenth century. What is, however, of antiquity is the tradition. These houses, like people, are the product of a long period of evolution incorporating qualities and characteristics which are the distillation of generations; of the combination of experience and invention, of climatic influence, of Muslim lifestyle and the craft traditions.<sup>59</sup>

More significant in terms of John Warren's argument, was that the continuity of traditions in terms of lifestyle and crafts had now been broken. The significance of Baghdadi houses in Bab al-Sheikh in 1980s already sprang mainly from contributing to the identity of the city and from being a three dimensional educational instrument showing the past living forms. The lifestyle of Baghdadis had been changed dramatically, with the majority of Baghdadis then preferring a modern house with a garden, which the traditional house type lacked. In addition, the traditional houses had been associated with inferiority by Baghdadis, who were 'inclined to despise a house that is old'.<sup>60</sup> Rifat Chadirji himself acknowledges that old *mahallas*, with their tortuous and rugged alleyways, had become inconvenient for the modern Baghdadi society.<sup>61</sup> Meanwhile, the craft traditions were increasingly practically defunct, with the municipality unable to find such skills in the Baghdadi labour market when the project of Conservation of Traditional Houses began. Instead, a Bangladeshi contractor, the Bengal Development Corporation, and its Bengali labourers were engaged to restore the houses.<sup>62</sup>

Since the traditions that contributed to Baghdadi traditional houses could not be revived or reconnected with the present, the last phase of their tangible manifestations was mummified in the Conservation of Traditional Houses project. What has been saved in this project was the structure that symbolises the identity of Baghdad at a specific juncture, if not the social essence of these houses. This was lucidly expressed in the municipality's actions when inhabitants were evicted, and when dilapidated

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<sup>59</sup> Warren, 'The Courtyard Houses of Baghdad: A Rich Heritage', pp. 87-94 (p. 87-88).

<sup>60</sup> Desmond Stewart, and John Haylock, *New Babylon: A Portrait of Iraq* (London: Collins, 1956), pp. 34-36.

<sup>61</sup> Rifat Chadirji, 'Iraq, or the Land and People Who Will Be the Modern Iraq', in *Baghdad: Modern Architecture and Heritage*, ed. by Caecilia Pieri (Baghdad: French Cultural Centre, French Embassy in Baghdad, 2009), pp. 15-16 (p. 16).

<sup>62</sup> John Warren, 'Acknowledgements', in *Conservation of Traditional Houses: Amanat Al-Assima Baghdad*, ed. by John Warren (Baghdad: Coach Publishing, 1984), p. 5.

houses were forcibly purchased, restored, and ultimately adaptively reused as public buildings.<sup>63</sup>

Sadly, as the chain of traditions was severed, the loss of the majority of Baghdadi traditional houses had become inevitable. John Warren admitted this in AD 1982 and in AD 1984 respectively.

Though many of the greatest houses may survive (all too often made into museum pieces), most of the traditional houses will disappear.<sup>64</sup>

Baghdad's historic houses have reached a turning point. Some will survive indefinitely into the future and the remainder will disappear.<sup>65</sup>

In the midst of the frantic redevelopment of Baghdad, two dramatic events then occurred. First, while Iraq was engaging in its prolonged war with Iran in the east, a major threat from the west became a reality. In an unprecedented move on 7 June 1981, eight Israeli fighter jets destroyed *Tamuz I*, the French-supplied nuclear reactor south of Baghdad.<sup>66</sup> Second, Baghdad abandoned hosting the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and requested hosting the Eighth summit instead.<sup>67</sup>

With respect to the former event, this necessitated an urgent revision of Saddam Hussein's ethnic war narrative involving the Arabs and the Persians, as it had just become a war between the Arabs and an alliance of the Persians and the Zionists as declared in the statement of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq on the day following the attack.

The Zionist enemy participated on more than one occasion directly and indirectly with Iran against Iraq. This included supplying Iran with military equipment and spare parts.

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<sup>63</sup> Stefano Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of Historical Centre of Baghdad City: Technical Report', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1984), p. 42.

<sup>64</sup> John Warren, and Ihsan Fethi, *Traditional Houses in Baghdad* (Horsham: Coach Publishing House, 1982), p. 189.

<sup>65</sup> John Warren, 'On Conservation in Baghdad', in *Conservation of Traditional Houses: Amanat Al-Assima Baghdad*, ed. by John Warren (Baghdad: Coach Publishing, 1984), pp. 74-79 (p. 79).

<sup>66</sup> Amos Perlmutter, Michael I. Handel, and Uri Bar-Joseph, *Two Minutes over Baghdad*. 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass, 2003), pp. xxviii, xxx.

<sup>67</sup> 'Final Documents of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, p. 53.



The Zionist enemy is trying to achieve its objectives and to achieve for the rulers in Tehran and Qum what they have failed to achieve during the 10 months of this treacherous war.<sup>68</sup>

Thus, instead of embracing one national identity stemming from an Arab glorious past, another parallel identity was adopted when Saddam was not only to be considered as leader of all Arabs, but as a victorious Babylonian king and regarded as a direct descendant and inheritor of King Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 BC). This association with Nebuchadnezzar was not an arbitrary one as it employed ancestral ethnic memories, since Nebuchadnezzar was the conqueror of Jerusalem who had held the Jews from ancient Palestine captive in Babylon, and who had put an end to the Kingdom of Juda.<sup>69</sup>

The parallel narrative, coupled with the abandonment of the summit, made modernizing Baghdad, while focusing on its Arab identity, not an urgent task. It reduced the time pressure put on the consultants and provided the municipality with a window to consider producing a comprehensive integrated plan for the whole of Rusafa; a plan which was coordinated between redevelopment and conservation projects. These circumstances led to the commission of the Rusafa Study project by the end of AD 1982.<sup>70</sup>

Consequently, all of the urban scale projects in the Rusafa historic core were abandoned, with only the commissioned traditional houses in Bab al-Sheikh and the individual buildings in Khulafa Street completed. As was the norm in the frantic construction of new streets in the historic core, the cleared area resulting from the newly constructed street in Bab al-Sheikh was left as an eyesore. The abandonment of these urban projects also exacerbated the conditions of Rusafa; the old fabric was severely damaged and the new projects were left uncompleted as a social and physical scar.

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<sup>68</sup> Perlmutter, Handel, and Bar-Joseph, pp. 122-123.

<sup>69</sup> Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq*. 3rd edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 379-380.

<sup>70</sup> Bianca, 'Designing Compatibility between New Projects and the Local Urban Tradition', pp. 21-34 (p. 30).

## **Rusafa Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of the Historical Centre of Baghdad City 1984**

Protecting and enhancing Rusafa's historic core by adopting a balanced approach between conservation and development tasks were the prime aims of the completed study of 1984. As Baghdad lacked a conservation policy and effective development control, providing an effective framework and guidelines to control future developments in Rusafa was essential for the study. Thus, an integrated planning strategy covering three interdependent levels was adopted.<sup>71</sup>

A Comprehensive Framework was the first level, and this entailed producing a structure plan for Rusafa as an integral part of Baghdad, establishing a balance between conservation and modern development, and exploring modern development prospects in non-historic fabric areas within the core to relieve pressures on historically significant areas. For the first time in Rusafa, conservation zones, intermediate (transitional) zones, and redevelopment zones were introduced and adopted through the structure plan.<sup>72</sup>

The second level was the development of Urban Design Schemes, which involved suggesting proposals to repair the disrupted townscape and the character of major urban components in the historic core (including *sugs*, historical spines, the riverfront, and Rashid Street); establishing and enhancing the integration between four main types of urban form (traditional homogeneous, transitional fabric, modern fabric blocks, and single-storey garages); and proposing guidelines which ensured compatibility between new development and the historic character of Rusafa.<sup>73</sup>

A Conservation Plan constituted the third level adopted by the integrated planning strategy. This involved surveying, documenting and analysing the existing historical fabric, specifying potential degrees of intervention for all buildings of architectural or historic interest in the core; and developing corresponding schemes for future implementation.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Stefano Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report: Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of Historical Centre of Baghdad City', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1984), pp. 1-2.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp. 2, 20.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 2, 44.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

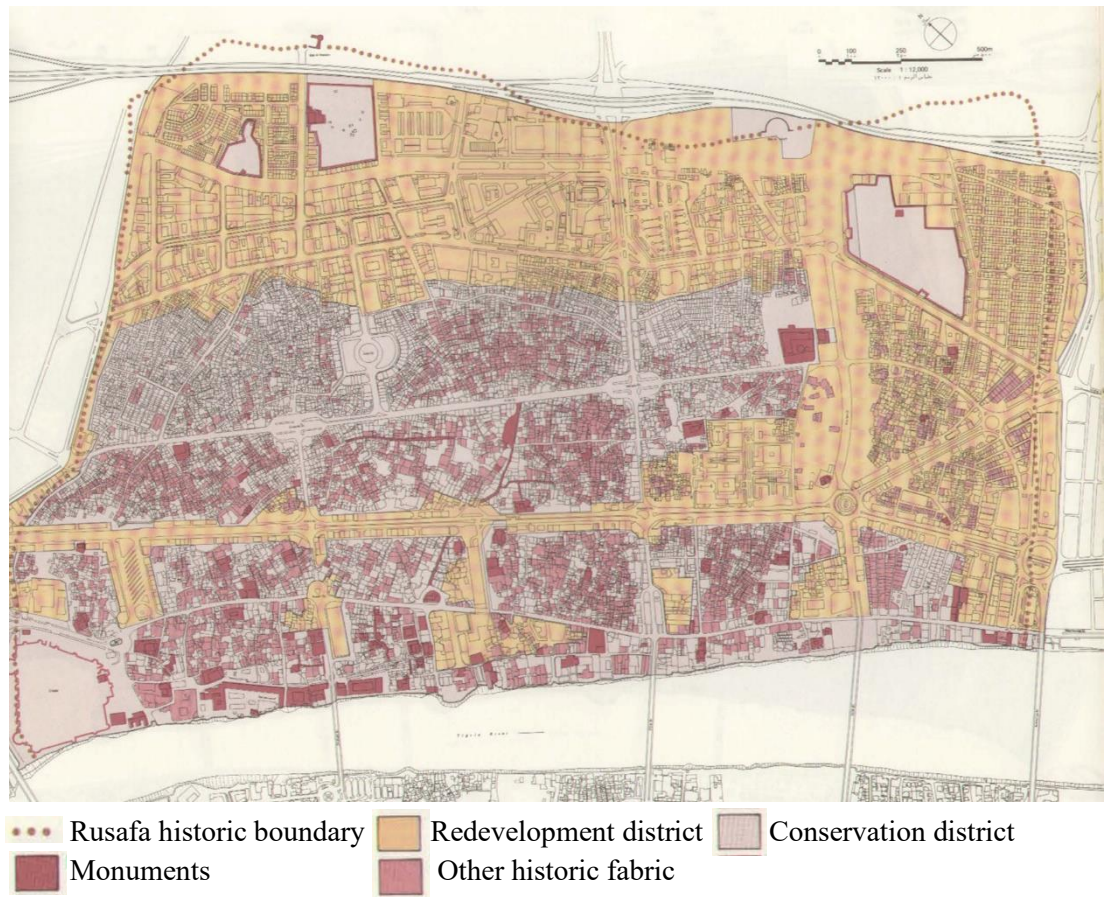


Figure 5.09: Urban development control zone of Rusafa shows the heritage fabric.<sup>75</sup>

In order to partially restore the identity of Rusafa, the cardinal objective of the conservation plan was to protect its historic fabric, and the plan states that, at this time, there was still ‘enough fabric remains to partly evoke its past grandeur’.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, the plan listed 3891 buildings<sup>77</sup>, around 24.8 percent of all buildings in Rusafa, with the vast majority of these being traditional courtyard houses constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It also included 63 mosques, 5 tombs, 6 madrassas, 11 khans, 6 hammams, 4 churches, 9 suqs, and 3 gates. It is noteworthy that the 132 monuments, which were already listed by the General Institute of Antiquities and Heritage, are included in the above figure.<sup>78</sup>

Listing traditional houses of such magnitude reflected a shift in conservation management in Baghdad. It departed from the selection of a few scattered houses of architectural value, which had been restored by John Warren in the conservation of

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>77</sup> It is noteworthy that all listed buildings were visually documented and saved as microfilms. Sadly, the films were lost in the period of instability.

<sup>78</sup> Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report', pp. 32-33.

traditional houses project, to include almost the whole historic fabric without regards to its architectural or age value. Indeed, it was a delayed echo of the recommendations of the Venice Charter and the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage which had emphatically stated respectively:

the concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting.<sup>79</sup>

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.<sup>80</sup>

However, the conservation plan emphasised not taking only the passive approach of solely protecting the fabric, but was to be complemented by guidelines and proposals from the structure plan and the urban design schemes in an interdependent way. That meant ‘an active enhancement of the historic fabrics’ through the revival of the area’s historical spines, the revitalization of its traditional *suqs*, the reconstruction of the city lost features such as its gates and its walled citadel, and the construction of a continuous pedestrianised strip along the riverfront.<sup>81</sup>

The study indicates that the conservation and the improvement tasks of the core should be executed in sequential stages and in tandem with securing legal, administrative and financial measures and tools.<sup>82</sup>

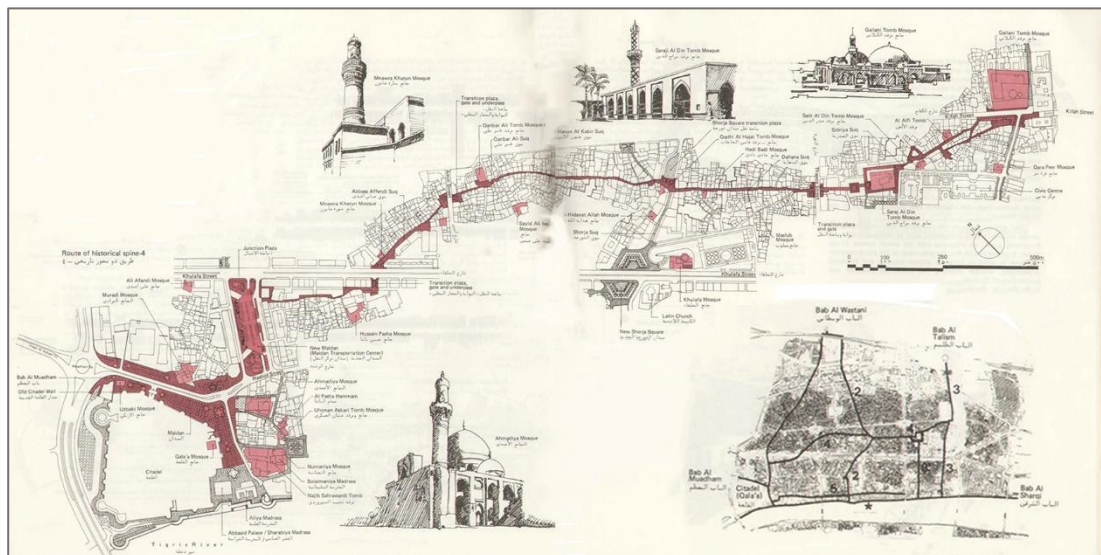


Figure 5.10: A historical spine links the citadel with al-Gailani mosque shrine.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> ICOMOS, (Venice Charter 1964).

<sup>80</sup> UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

<sup>81</sup> Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report', p.35.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-50.

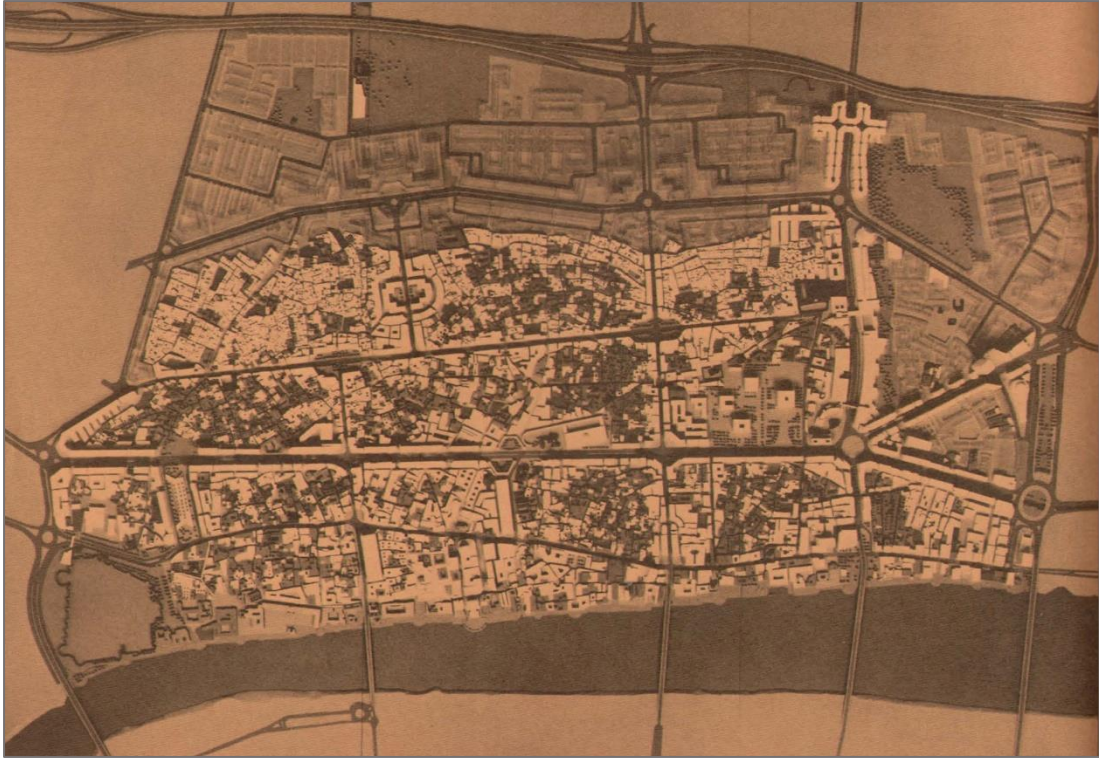


Figure 5.11: Urban structure of Rusafa in year AD 2000 after implementing all stages of interventions.<sup>84</sup>

Unfortunately, as the war of attrition continued with Iran, Iraq entered a stage of severe economic crisis resulting in the stopping and ultimately jettisoning all major construction and development projects in Baghdad by the end of AD 1984.<sup>85</sup>

However, it was not the financial situation that halted the conservation of Rusafa, but the change of the political-mythological narrative and its associated identity, in that the Babylonian identity argument quickly overrode the Arab one and made the latter irrelevant within this specific political context. Even in the extreme economic crisis, an authoritarian regime can afford to implement a costly project which it considers essential to its assumed identity. Nicholas Stanley-Price accounts for the costly practice of reconstruction and provides a germane example to this argument.

Reconstruction projects tend to be very expensive and often can only be financed by the political authorities who insist they be undertaken.[...] An extreme case is the lavish reconstruction of Babylon, undertaken for political reasons while Iraq was engaged in a long-term and costly war with its neighbour Iran.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.57.

<sup>85</sup> Justin Marozzi, *Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 2014), p. 346.

<sup>86</sup> Nicholas Stanley-Price, 'The Reconstruction of Ruins: Principles and Practice', in *Conservation Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, ed. by Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker (Oxford:

Since it was of paramount importance to the regime's identity, in the midst of war and the ensuing economic crisis, Saddam Hussein was still able to afford to reconstruct Babylon and the ancient palace of Nebuchadnezzar. In order to support this aggrandizement of Saddam's image as a victorious leader, a significant quantity of new bricks used in the reconstruction were stamped with the following words:

In the reign of the victorious Saddam Hussein, the President of the Republic, may God keep him, the guardian of the great Iraq and the renovator of its renaissance and the builder of its great civilization, the rebuilding of the great city of Babylon was done in 1987.<sup>87</sup>

Nevertheless, even though it was not implemented, the 1984 Rusafa Study is crucial in the conservation management of Baghdad owing to its effects on designation criteria: its listed buildings and conservation zones constituted the base on which following studies were built upon.

The Rusafa historic core stayed in a state of gradual decline after being excluded from the political-mythological narrative. The Arab narrative was totally abandoned when Saddam invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, since instead of being the guardian of all Arabs, he posed a threat to them. Consequently, severe international sanctions were imposed on Iraq and an international military coalition, which involved a significant number of Arab states, forced Saddam to withdraw his forces from Kuwait.<sup>88</sup> Saddam's image was thus converted from a victorious Arab-Babylonian leader to the isolated governor of Iraq.

These dramatic events had major consequences on the way in which heritage was managed in Rusafa, the effects of which were subsequently discussed in the next commissioned report: the Project of Studying Heritage Buildings in Rusafa Centre 1994.

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Elsevier Ltd, in Association with the Victoria and Albert Museum London, 2009), pp. 32-46 (pp. 40-41).

<sup>87</sup> John K. Cooley, *An Alliance against Babylon: The U.S., Israel, and Iraq* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), p. 12.

<sup>88</sup> Thabit A. J. Abdullah, *Dictatorship, Imperialism and Chaos: Iraq since 1989* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2006), pp. 63, 71.

### **Project of Studying Heritage Buildings in Rusafa Centre 1994**

This project has three cardinal aims: to document heritage buildings in Rusafa's historic core, to analyse and evaluate those traditional houses which had been listed in the study of 1984, and to provide recommendations pertaining to keeping or removing the listed buildings from the current heritage list.<sup>89</sup>

The 1994 project criticized the study of 1984 principally owing to its listing of 3891 buildings and recommending conserving them. According to the project, the majority of these buildings, apart from being constructed using local bricks, 'lacks basic heritage and architectural values' and some of were in a high state of dilapidation.<sup>90</sup>

After setting new criteria of selection – age value, architectural value, building value within its surroundings, and structural condition<sup>91</sup> – the project approved keeping only 905 buildings in the heritage list, further stating that 40 percent of that figure needed to be fully restored, 25 percent needed to be partially restored, that just 15 percent needed to be repaired, and that there were very few buildings in a good physical condition.<sup>92</sup>

In addition, and in order to conserve the spirit and the continuity of traditional alleyways, the project recommended conserving only the exterior elevations of 174 older buildings, this figure constituting 20 percent of the listed heritage buildings.<sup>93</sup>

Furthermore, the study shows that 273, approximately 11 percent, of those buildings excluded from the list contained good heritage elements ranging from main doors, timber joinery brick craftsmanship, door handles and other forms of heritage iron work.<sup>94</sup>

Thus, a combination of two factors contributed to the removal of around 77 percent of the listed buildings in Rusafa in AD 1994. First, the change of political-mythological narrative and the absence of a political will to employ, and therefore safeguard, Baghdadi heritage. Second, the impact of imposed international sanctions which had

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<sup>89</sup> University of Baghdad Department of Architecture, Project of Studying Heritage Buildings in Rusafa (Baghdad-Iraq: 1994), p. 4.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-37.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 38.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-40.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

led to the isolation of Iraq from the international community and to severe financial hardship.

The effects of the latter factor were manifested in three aspects. The project was commissioned by the Municipality of Baghdad to the Department of Architecture at the University of Baghdad. A team consisting mainly of academic architects, complemented by municipality staff and a few Iraqi experts undertook the project.<sup>95</sup> This was a shift in conducting such projects in Baghdad from well-known international consultants in the 1980s to local Iraqi academics in the 1990s. Second, the project failed to achieve its first aim of documenting heritage buildings, as only expired photographic films were available in the Iraqi market making it impossible to take good quality photographs as part of a building recording programme. Third, maps of abysmal quality – distorted maps in terms of length and width, as well as without accurate scale – were produced using almost broken photocopying equipment and it was these that were ultimately used to indicate which buildings should be saved or removed.<sup>96</sup>



Figure 5.12: Map shows heritage to non-heritage buildings ratio in all blocks of Rusafa in 1994.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.



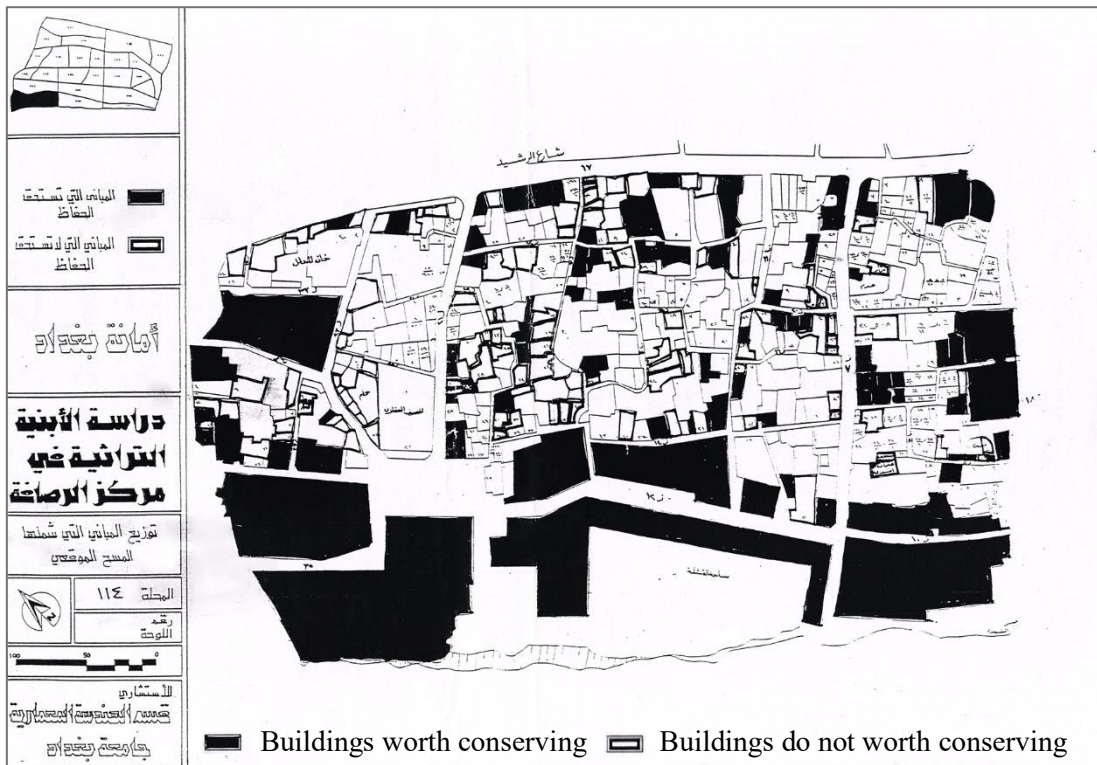


Figure 5.13: Map shows heritage buildings worth conserving and not worth conserving in Block 114 in Rusafa according to the Rusafa project of 1994.<sup>98</sup>

Sadly, apart from reducing the number of the listed buildings, none of the project recommendations were achieved.

Thus, Rusafa historic core was left neglected without implementing an effective protection mechanism or controlled development.

### Resurveying the Rusafa's Survey of AD 1977

Since Baghdadi architectural heritage was greatly affected by Saddam Hussain's change of narrative, coupled with the impact to sever international sanctions and the aftermath of the American invasion, heritage neglect and an acceleration of heritage loss were inevitable.

Resurveying earlier surveys is crucial to discovering the magnitude of heritage loss in Rusafa historic core after consecutive periods of instability. With the notion of heritage evolving over time, all surveys prior to the *Baghdad comprehensive development plan towards the year AD 2000* were based solely on archaeological grounds as discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

Until the 1970s, no single dedicated comprehensive survey addressing Baghdadi architectural heritage had been conducted, but there were sporadic archaeological disseminations by the Iraqi General Directorate of Antiquities focused mainly on a group of ancient buildings exemplified by the work of the archaeologists Taha Baqir<sup>99</sup> and Basheer Francis<sup>100</sup>. These circumstances continued until AD 1971 when the first dedicated Baghdadi survey was jointly initiated by the Iraqi General Directorate of Antiquities and the Iraqi-Italian Institute of Archaeology targeting ancient Islamic monuments in the city.<sup>101</sup>

Thus, Ihsan Fethi's survey of AD 1977,<sup>102-103</sup> albeit conducted as a part of an academic study, is not only the first and the sole survey which follows the guidelines and the recommendations of *Baghdad comprehensive development plan towards the year AD 2000* by considering and documenting non-ancient heritage in Baghdad, but precedes the reign of Saddam Hussein and the successive periods of instability as well.

Fethi identified Baghdadi architectural heritage in the four historic cores by employing a scoring system of one hundred points that were distributed unequally across seven criteria assessing age (25 points), uniqueness (15 points), restoration potential (15 points), architectural interest (15 points), historic interest (15 points), location value (10 points) and group value (5 points). However, the age of buildings or sites was the fundamental criterion: if a structure did not meet Fethi's prescribed cut-off date of AD 1932,<sup>104</sup> the rest of the criteria were immediately negated.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Taha Baqir, *Baghdad: Historical Sketch and Monuments* (Baghdad: General Directorate of Antiquities, 1958).

<sup>100</sup> Basheer Francis, *Baghdad, Its History and Antiquities* (Baghdad: General Directorate of Antiquities, Al rabita press, 1959).

<sup>101</sup> Vincenzo Strika, and Jābir Khalīl, *The Islamic Architecture of Baghdād: The Results of a Joint Italian-Iraqi Survey* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1987).

<sup>102</sup> Ihsan Abdul Wahab Fethi, 'Urban Conservation in Iraq: The Case for Protecting the Cultural Heritage of Iraq with Special Reference to Baghdad, Including a Comprehensive Inventory of Its Areas and Buildings of Historic or Architectural Interest. Vol. 2' (University of Sheffield, 1978).

<sup>103</sup> Ihsan Abdul Wahab Fethi, 'Urban Conservation in Iraq: The Case for Protecting the Cultural Heritage of Iraq with Special Reference to Baghdad, Including a Comprehensive Inventory of Its Areas and Buildings of Historic or Architectural Interest. Vol. 3' (University of Sheffield, 1978).

<sup>104</sup> The British mandate of Iraq ended in AD 1932.

<sup>105</sup> Fethi, Vol. 1, pp. 333-35.

After implementing his criteria, architectural heritage was classified by Fethi into 3 categories of significance:

Grade A [70-100 points]: These are items of exceptional architectural and/or historic interest, of national importance, and must be preserved.

Grade B [35-65 points]: These are items of special architectural and/or historic interest, which warrant every effort being made to preserve them. Some of these items could be, eventually, upgraded to grade A.

Grade C [10-30 points]: These are items of sufficient architectural and/or historic interest to be considered for protection. Some may possess a special local interest or group value. Normally, they should also be preserved and could be re-assessed regularly either for upgrading or removal from any future statutory list.<sup>106</sup>

Focusing on Rusafa's historic core, Fethi identified and documented 289 heritage items<sup>107</sup> that were worth conserving.<sup>108</sup>

After resurveying what was considered heritage in AD 1977, it is unsurprising that around 41 percent (119 buildings and sites) of Baghdadi tangible heritage in Rusafa has been lost in less than 40 years of three successive wars, an extended period of severe international sanctions, persistent waves of daily terrorist attacks and sectarian violence.

However, my survey reveals that no single heritage building in Rusafa was lost due to direct consequences of instability as speculated by Bianca:

the author was unable to receive any information on the current status of the Rusafa projects, but it must be assumed that no significant activities have taken place during the past ten to fifteen years, in which time the city has probably suffered losses as a result of intensive bombing by American war planes.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>107</sup> Gertrude Bell's Tomb is situated adjacent to the historic core, it is the only one of 289 heritage items located outside the walls of the historic core, but it is considered by many as part of the historic core area.

<sup>108</sup> Fethi, Vol. 1, p 336.

<sup>109</sup> Bianca, *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present*, p. 270.

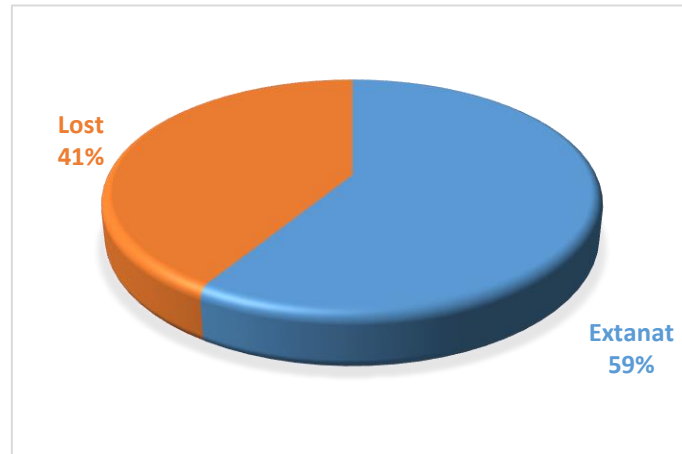


Figure 5.14: Heritage loss ratio between 1977 and 2016.

Instead, in order to have a deeper understanding of the heritage loss, three relationships have been analysed in the new survey, between the loss and the grade of individual buildings, then the loss and building ownership, and lastly the loss and the function of individual buildings.

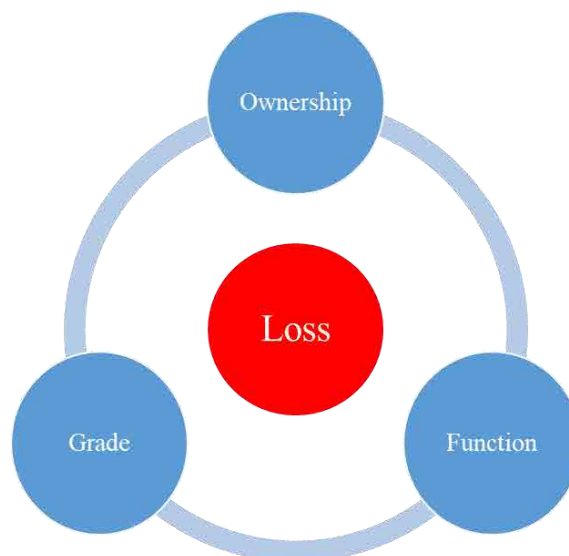


Figure 5.15: How heritage loss is analysed and discussed.

With respect to the relationship between heritage loss and the grade of the buildings, the survey shows that Grade C heritage items comprise 63 percent of the total loss figure, while Grade B and Grade A consist of 32 percent and 5 percent respectively. This clearly substantiates that the lower the heritage value, the less protection is allocated to it.

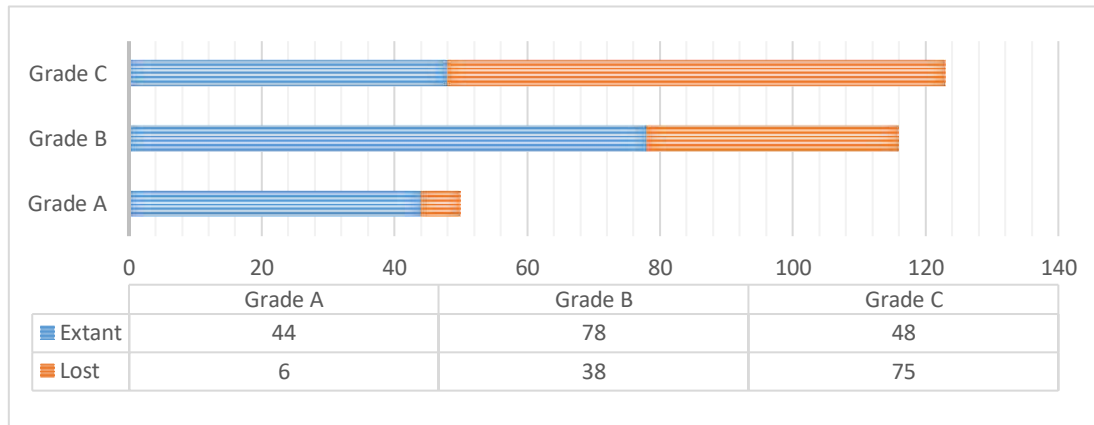


Figure 5.16: The relationship between heritage loss and the grades of heritage buildings.

Analysing the relationship between the losses figure and the ownership of heritage-designated properties, 60.8 percent of private-owned heritage structures have been lost since Fethi's survey, 44.4 percent of Mujammada<sup>110</sup> (frozen assets) properties have been lost, while heritage properties owned by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage and the other governmental departments suffered losses of 20 percent and 7.1 percent respectively. Interestingly, the statistics reveal that only a few buildings were lost from those owned by *awqaf* and Church: 93.4 percent of the former and 100 percent of the later have survived. Nevertheless, the last two figures are debatable, as the cardinal aim of *Awaqf* is to generate profits in order to be channelled for charitable purposes, as discussed in chapter 3, and the majority of *awqaf* and the Church's heritage buildings have undergone extreme restoration, especially *awaqf* examples where in some instances heritage buildings have been demolished, then reconstructed, without paying attention to normative conservation ethics and principles.

Regarding the relationship between heritage losses and building function, heritage-designated houses constitute the greatest figure, with two-thirds lost (96 houses), while more than half of the rest (26 houses) have been adaptively reused mainly as warehouses and less than half (23 houses) remain in their original function, but in a very poor condition.

<sup>110</sup> Mujammada is an Arabic word means frozen assets, the assets belong to all former Iraqi people whose citizenships were stripped by the Iraqi government. In this thesis, Mujammada refers to the frozen assets of Iraqi Jews who emigrated from Iraq from the 1st January 1948 onwards. The citizenships of whom were stripped by the Iraqi law No. 1 of AD 1950 and their properties have been frozen by Iraqi law No. 12 of AD 1951.



Figure 5.17: Heavy restoration of mosques in Rusafa.

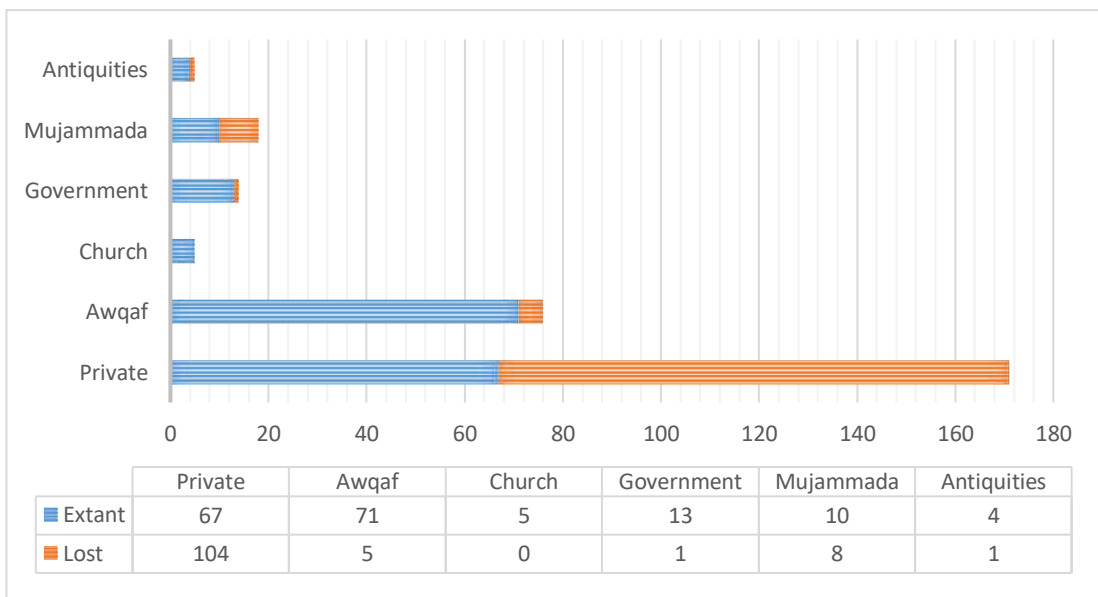


Figure 5.18: The relationship between heritage loss and the ownership of heritage buildings.

Sadly, traditional hammams were no longer extant in 2016, with 4 out of 6 hammams demolished, one adaptively-reused and one derelict and in very poor physical condition.

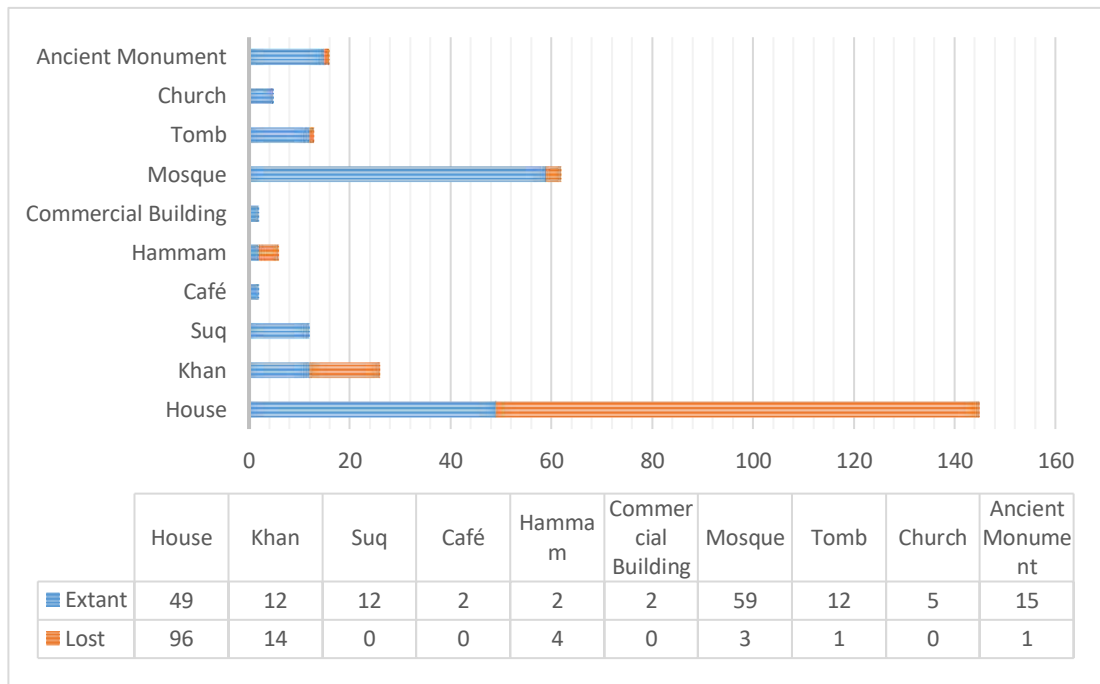


Figure 5.19: The relationship between heritage loss and the function of heritage buildings.

However, with respect to commercial activities, all Suqs and commercial buildings have survived with the exception of the local khans, more than half of which have been lost.

Interestingly, the majority of religious buildings (Mosques, Churches and tombs) and ancient buildings have survived.

Linking grade, function, and ownership to heritage loss, the statistics show that heritage houses were lost regardless of their ownership and grade. This corresponds with a long period of commercialization within the historic core where dwelling as a function now rarely exists.

Around two-thirds of Grade B privately owned historic houses and half of all Mujammada properties have been lost. Approximately similar figures of loss are evident in these two ownership categories for Grade C historic houses too, at 60 percent and 50 percent of loss respectively. The only exception is the Grade B heritage houses owned by the ‘other governmental department’ (not the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage), all of which have survived, the reason for this being that they underwent adaptive-reuse transformation and are no longer being used as dwellings. Further evidence to substantiate the argument is that Mujammada heritage-designated houses are under the administration of the government, allowing these to

be rented as dwellings. Interestingly, two Mujammada Grade A heritage houses were lost, while the other two grade A heritage houses that are privately owned have survived due to being used as warehouses.

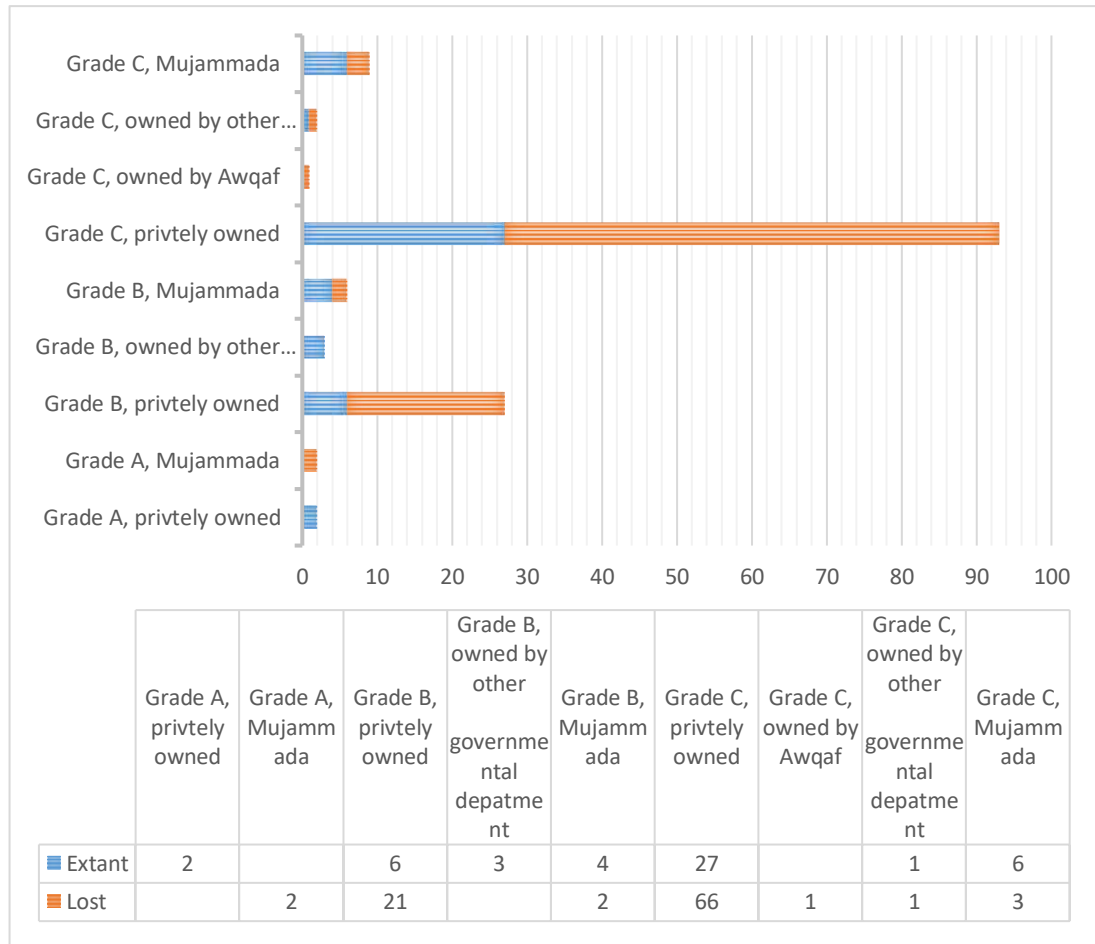


Figure 5.20: The relationship between heritage houses loss, their grade, and ownership.

The updated survey revealed that the first sign of decay, which typically threatens the whole structure of the Baghdadi traditional house, occurs within roofs. The roofs of these houses were constructed using traditional materials which require frequent maintenance. A typical roof consists of timber beams covered with three layers of reed net, onto which 5-10 cm of mud is applied, followed by 10 cm of dry soil and a further 5 cm of mud that is rendered to produce a smooth surface.<sup>111</sup> Without regular maintenance, rain water starts to erode the roof gradually until it collapses, at which point such houses become empty shells awaiting demolition. This fate of Baghdad

<sup>111</sup> Oscar Reuther, 'Das Wohnhaus in Baghdad and Anderen Stadten Des Iraq 1910', in *Iraqi House in Baghdad and Other Iraqi Cities*, ed. by Mahmoud Kibo (London: Al Warrak Publishing Ltd, 2006), p. 133.



traditional houses is not confined to Baghdad, but is common in almost every traditional Islamic city. Ronald Lewcock gives this account:

First the roofs go, then the corners fall off because the walls have been damaged by the rains. In no time at all fairly respectable multi-storeyed buildings have become ruined single-storied structures. They are left as single-storey buildings and not allowed to collapse entirely because shopkeepers and craftspersons occupy the ground floor.



Figure 5.21-22: Baghdadi traditional house, the demolition of the roof while maintaining commercial activity in the ground floor.

The updated survey also indicates that heritage houses have two likelihoods of transformation scenario, the first turning it from a residential use to a commercial one. The second, where a commercial use is not viable, is terminal. The house, dilapidated due to the lack of maintenance, is demolished, and afterwards the empty unpaved plot functions as a car park serving the commercial congested area, and finally a multi storey commercial building will be constructed on the plot.



Figure 5.23: A Baghdadi traditional houses accommodates commercial use.



Figure 5.24: A lost Baghdadi traditional houses is used as a car parking.

As the historic core mainly maintains commercial activities which is evident in the survival of its relatively intact heritage Suqs, it is abnormal to loss heritage buildings associate with such activities. This only alters when a more profitable option or essential service is introduced, and this trend is exemplified by Khans where around 60 percent listed grade B and C in the Fethi survey have been lost regardless of ownership.

Three Grade B privately owned khans were demolished by the municipality of Baghdad to construct a multi-storey car park, while the rest of the six demolished

khans had two-storey commercial buildings constructed on their original plots. With no exception for the two buildings owned by Awqaf and Mujamada, a multi-storey commercial building was constructed for the former and the site is dilapidated and waiting investment for the latter.



Figure 5.25-26: Khans, continuity of commercial activities.

Of the two grade A khans that have survived, the one owned by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage is an ancient building that, despite being currently closed and without a clear function, is protected by the former agency and by Iraqi law. The second khan, owned by Awqaf, is still in its original function, albeit in a very poor condition, and generates profits from renting its shops.

The updated survey also shows the continuity and discontinuity of social practices in Rusafa which have had significant impact on heritage loss regardless of heritage buildings' grades. In spite of being of high architectural interest, Grade A and B hammams were lost or dilapidated and the hammam as a function is defunct in the

historic core. Whereas the only two cafes in the survey that have survived are only graded at C, but are still in use.

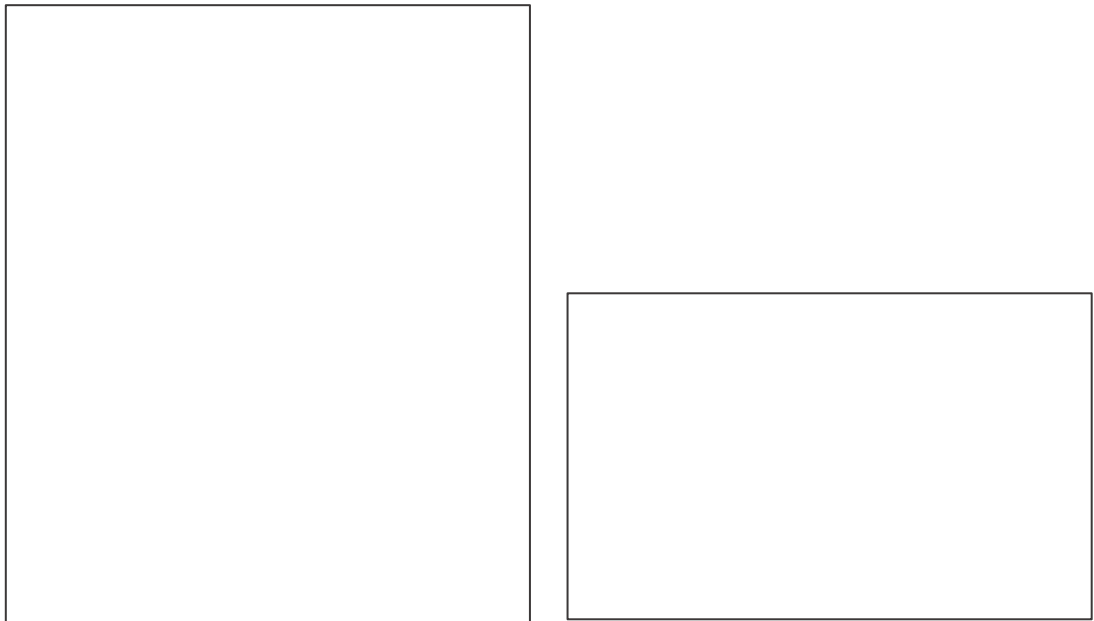


Figure 5.27-28: A Baghdadi hammam in a dilapidated condition.<sup>112</sup>

The survey clearly shows the poor condition of the majority of historic buildings in Rusafa. This is not only a product of the lack of implementation of effective conservation protection and of controlled redevelopments, but the result of excluding the Baghdadi heritage from the political narrative in a region where heritage is highly politicized.

### **Conclusion**

The modernization and conservation projects of Rusafa in the beginning of 1980s were initiated as a direct response to the regime's political narrative. A narrative necessitated the aggrandizement of Saddam Hussain's identity as a victorious Arab hero by restoring the city's splendid status. The projects were stopped by the identity transformation of the same hero figure after the leadership narrative was transformed from that of an Arab to a Babylonian leader.

Even though the modernization adopted the idea of *khususiya* and compatibility at the theoretical level, owing to the overwhelming scale of the projects and their frantic pace of delivery, the continuity between modernity and traditions was severed on the

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<sup>112</sup> Access to this hammam was denied, these two photos were taken by an Iraqi architect.

ground. This was coupled with an abrupt change in the political narrative resulting in unfinished projects and disrupted fabric.

Nonetheless, without the political impetus, the few scattered Baghdadi traditional houses would have been lost and the Rusafa Study of AD 1984 would have not been conducted. The importance of the former stems from broadening the heritage practice in the city by conserving non- ancient heritage and the significance of the latter springs from changing the breadth and context heritage management in the city by listing approximately a quarter of the buildings in the historic core and designating conservation zones.

Once excluded from the regime's narrative, the determination of heritage in Rusafa was released from the circle of identity-politics to be under the academic, but subjective, judgement of one Iraqi university. This change is evident in the stark difference between the number of listed buildings in AD 1984 and AD 1994 on one hand, and the change of aim in studies from balancing conservation and development projects to focusing solely on what remained to be saved or to be excluded from the heritage list on the other. Consequently, Rusafa resumed the path towards a state of decline and gradual heritage loss.

The updated survey presents the magnitude of heritage loss after 40 years of instability, and it reveals that even though the notion of heritage has been expanded to include non-ancient traditional buildings generally and the traditional houses in particular, the majority of losses have occurred within this category. The reason for this is that protection on the ground has been limited to prioritising ancient heritage while the former has been under severe pressure from market forces. To alleviate this pressure, adaptive reuse is paramount to the continued existence of heritage houses in Rusafa core by providing suitable uses to the twenty first century.

Moving from Saddam's era, the next chapter presents the impact of identity-politics on heritage management and practice in the city in the dark era of terrorism.

## Chapter 6

### Heritage and Terrorism

What literary discussions brewed over tea  
Here in the alley named al-Mutanabbi.

At the Shabandar cafe one could see  
Poets become their books of poetry.

Writers kept writing, readers reading, the  
Booksellers maintaining community.

Bam! No words for the bomb that suddenly  
Injured hundreds and killed at least thirty.

Arabic equivalents of "A, B,  
C," shame terrorists' illiteracy.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter continues to address the use and abuse of heritage in Baghdad focusing on the still ongoing period of terrorism that had affected the city. The recent history of Al-Mutanabbi Street, as a place of national cultural significance located in the heart of Rusafa historic core and targeted by a tragic terrorist attack, is outlined, and the Street is examined in terms of its cultural and architectural transformation over a ten-year period (AD 2007- 2017).

The *Al-Mutanabbi Street development project* is analysed and the politics behind it are discussed, taking into consideration the precedence given to the material environment of the street to produce a new version of tangible heritage. National and international responses to the attack are also reviewed to show how new forms of heritage and cultural practices have been made and evolved, and to present their continuous effects on the identity of the street and the city.

#### **Al-Mutanabbi Street: its evolution and traditions**

Al Mutanabbi Street or the Book Street is considered to be the premier cultural street of Iraq in general and of Baghdad in particular where books are the main commodity. The street is situated in *Jadeed Hasan Pasha*, a traditional *Mahalla* in Rusafa historic

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<sup>1</sup> Roger Sedarat, 'Abridged Qasida for Al-Mutanabbi Street', in *Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here*, ed. by Beau Beausoleil and Deema K. Shehabi (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), pp. 34-35.

core.<sup>2</sup> It was part of a larger *Mahalla* known as Al Thulatha market in the Abbasid period and the street was then known as Zaka Road.<sup>3</sup>

Owing to the street's proximity to the *Qushla* and the *Sari*, the government compound from the late Ottoman period to the early national period, the houses of high status official and diplomats were located in the street, including the French consulate. In addition, the street accommodated the Ottoman military bakery and the government kitchen, and subsequently, the street was named in Turkish, *Ekmek Khana* Street, which means Bakery Street.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, no single bookshop existed in the street in this earlier period.

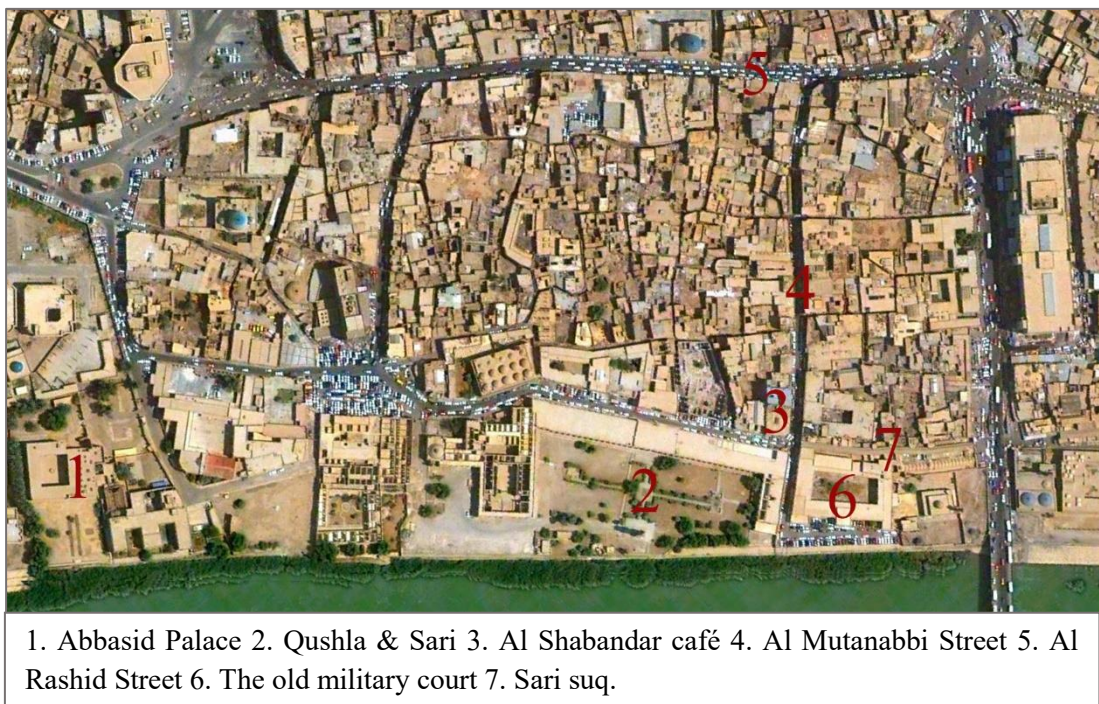


Figure 6.01: Satellite photo of Al Mutanabbi Street and its surroundings.<sup>5</sup>

Illiteracy was an enormous issue among the Baghdadi people at the beginning of the twentieth century, but as result of accumulative effects of introducing a modern educational system in the 1920s it attracted many students and teachers.<sup>6</sup> The number

<sup>2</sup> It is named after Hasan Pasha, who was the governor of Baghdad in AD 1704 during the Ottoman period.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammed Hassan Salman Hassani, *Al Kadim Min Mahlat Al Jdad* (Baghdad: House of Cultural Affairs, 2009), pp. 42-44.

<sup>4</sup> Imad Abd al-Salam Rauf, *Maalim Baghdad Fi Al-Qurun Al-Muta Akhkhirah: Fi Daw Al-Waqfiyat Wa-Al-I Lamat Wa-Al-Hujaj Al-Shar Iyah Al-Mahfuzah Fi Arshif Wizarat Al-Awqaf Bi-Baghdad* (Baghdad: Bayt al-Hikmah, 2000), p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Google Earth, map of Rusafa.

<sup>6</sup> It was introduced by Sati' al-Husri, the Pan-Arab nationalist whose influence on the heritage of the city was discussed in chapter 4.

of educated people increased significantly and this in turn stimulated the demand for books and publications. The effect of this demand was the beginning of the transformation of *Ekmek Khana* Street into Al Mutanabbi Street from the early 1930s onwards, when a few existing bookshops were moved from the adjacent overcrowded *Sari suq* to their new location in the street.<sup>7</sup>

It was not the arrival of the bookshops alone that shaped the new intellectual identity of Al Mutanabbi Street, but the change of name in AD 1932 in recognition to Al Mutanabbi, the famous Arab poet (AD 915-965) and his significant role in the cultural expansion of Arab Abbasid poetry.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, in the 1930s and 1940s, in addition to the establishment of many specialised bookshops (legal, science, literature etc.), the buildings in the adjacent alleyways accommodated printing presses and newspaper headquarters. Al Momyaz in his book, *Baghdad as I knew it*, states that in the late 1940s, Al Mutanabbi Street and *Jadeed Hasan Pasha Mahalla* were considered to be the focus for journalism and its significance to Baghdad city was equivalent to that of Fleet Street to the city of London in the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

By accommodating these new uses, the majority of the historic fabric of the Street was supplanted by modern eclectic buildings constructed over a period from the 1930s to the 1950s.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the street was fully transformed from a traditional residential use to a modern commercial one.

Al Shabandar café, which is located at the western end of Al Mutanabbi Street and in the front of the *Qushla*, is the most famous traditional café in Baghdad and one of the salient features of the Street. It was established in AD 1917 as a resting place for those Baghdadis who engaged with officials in the *Qushla* and the nearby courts, drinking tea while waiting for the paperwork to be completed by the officials.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Imad Abd al-Salam Rauf, ed., *The Autobiography of Qasim Muhammad Al-Rajab, the Owner and the Founder of Al-Muthanna Bookshop in Baghdad* (Beirut: Arabic house for enclypodias 2009), pp. 13-14.

<sup>8</sup> Fakhri Al-Zubaidi, *Baghdad from 1900 to 1934*. Vol. 1 (Baghdad: Dar Alharria for printing 1990), p. 306.

<sup>9</sup> Amin Mumayiz, *Baghdad as I Knew It* (Baghdad: Dar Afac Arabia for Journalism and Publishing 1985), p. 173.

<sup>10</sup> Ghada Musa Razouki Al Siliq, *City of Stories*. 2nd edn (Baghdad: Iraqi Cultural Support Association, 2013), p. 185.

<sup>11</sup> Abbas Baghdadi, *Baghdad in the Twenties*. ed. by Abdul Rahman Munif. Second edn (Beirut: Arab Institution for Studies and Publishing, 1999), p. 127.



Even though the street was transformed and the government compound was moved, Al Shabandar café's late nineteenth century building survived this transformation and the café kept its function, with the only change being in those patrons whose identity evolved with the new primary function of the street. This café has become a literary club more than a traditional café where poets deliver their poems and intellectuals engages in cultural debates while drinking tea and sitting on traditional wooden benches. To keep this cultural atmosphere as a place where knowledge is exchanged and as a place of memory, traditional games, as found in other traditional cafés, are prohibited in the Al Shabandar. The interior walls of the café are decorated with images of Baghdad which depict its places and social life in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century;<sup>12</sup> and it was here that Baghdadi intellectuals formed their two unions, The Union of Iraqi Writers and The Iraqi National Union of Printing.<sup>13</sup>

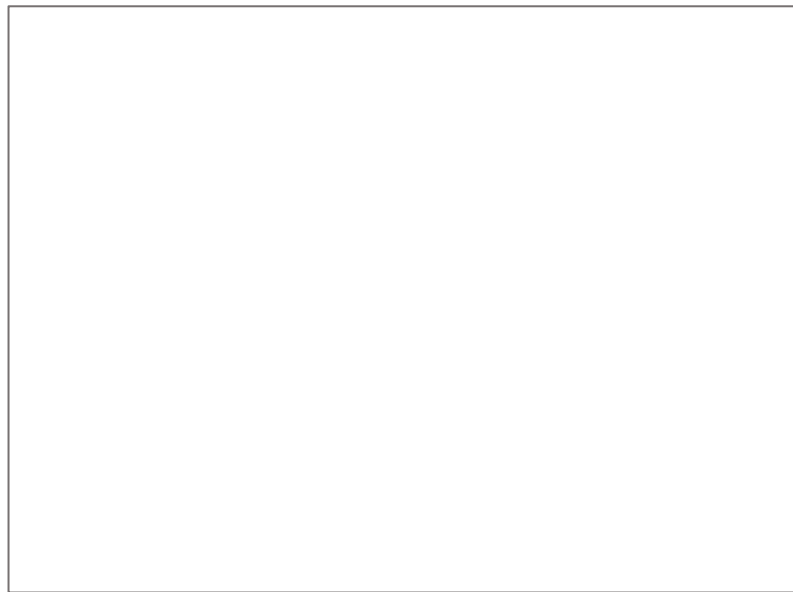


Figure 6.02: The interior of Al Shabandar café prior to AD 2007.<sup>14</sup>

Friday is a unique day in Al Mutanabi Street, as intellectuals, academics and literary writers attend the street each week on this day. This is no coincidence and has evolved from local traditions dominated by Islamic culture as it is the day when Muslims gather to attend Friday Prayer. People attend the street not only because it is a permanent book fair, but to gather in groups to discuss various cultural matters. This cultural

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<sup>12</sup> Ibrahim Mohammed, 'The Memory of the Place: Al Shabandar Café in Baghdad', *Al-Mourth* January 2008, pp. 29-31.

<sup>13</sup> Jamal Haider, *Baghdad in the Modernity of Sixties* 2nd edn (Bruxelles: Alca Books, 2017), p. 110.

<sup>14</sup> Hussein Mardan, 'The Cafés of Baghdad', *Almada* 09 November 2015, p. 15.

practice finishes at prayer time and the Street will then empty with the majority of people attending Alwazer Mosque for Friday prayer.<sup>15</sup>

Every Friday, prior to AD 2008, the street was spontaneously pedestrianized and its pavement culture dominated. Pavements were crammed with book stalls, and some stalls extended from the bookshops to the point that there was no passage between bookshop and street. The street thus acted as a cultural corridor on which Baghdadis were introduced to a significant number of titles.<sup>16</sup>

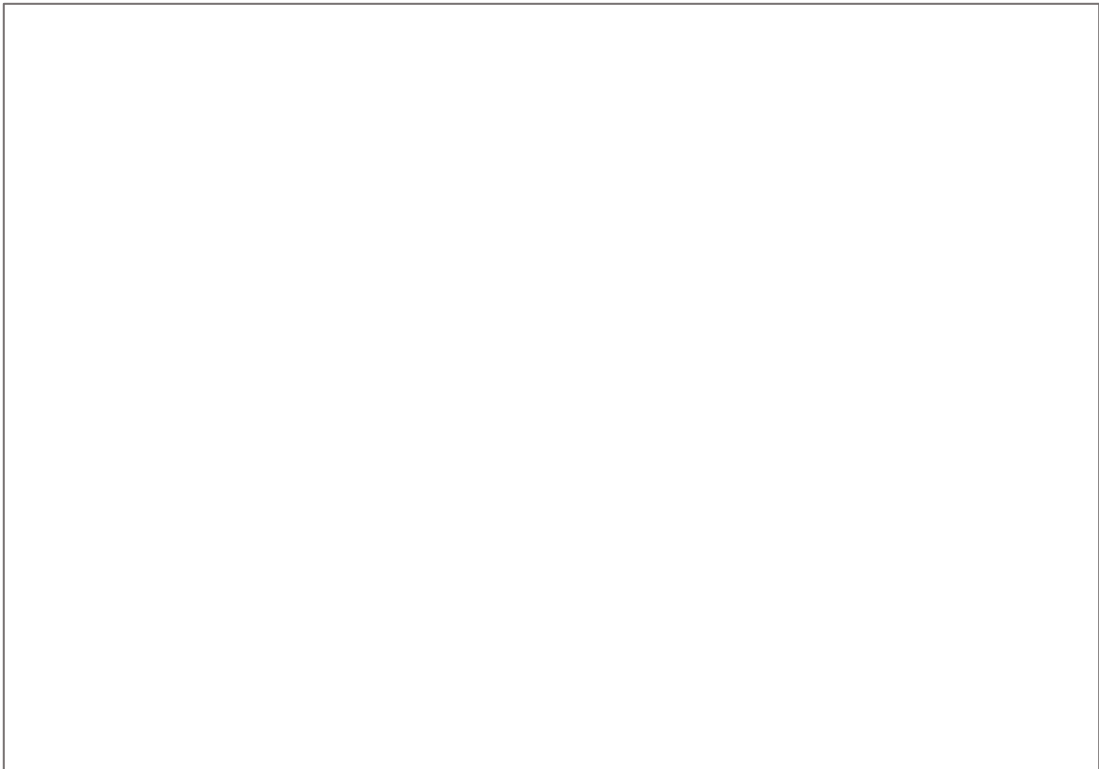


Figure 6.03: The Friday traditions in Al Mutanabbi Street prior to AD 2007.<sup>17</sup>

Al Mutanabbi Street has continuously reflected the culture and the interests of its visitors, and these have changed over time. From the 1960s to the 1980s, the highest demand was for the most respected rational work of international and national writers, but since AD 2003 this trend has diminished and has been offset by religious and mystical books. Furthermore, it has played an important role associated with the collective memory of the city and specifically in times of hardship, as for example

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<sup>15</sup> Imad Abd al-Salam Rauf, 'The Secret of Al Mutanabi Street', *Almada Iraqi memory* 26/07/2010, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Razak Ibrahim Hassan, *Vision for Al Mutanabbi Street* (Baghdad: House of General Cultural Affairs, 2008), 44-45.

<sup>17</sup> Fahim Al-Asimi, 'Reading in the Era of Machine', *Almada* 17 September 2008, p. 17.

during the severe international sanctions imposed between AD 1990 and 2003. Then, the intellectuals themselves took up stalls in the street to sell their valuable books and personal libraries in order to weather the severe economic pressures of the period.<sup>18</sup>

Baghdadi people are keen to sustain the traditions of Al Mutanabbi Street, the longevity of the traditions is reflected by the Arab aphorism 'Cairo writes, Beirut prints and Baghdad reads'.<sup>19</sup> Such traditions are the driving force in reflecting the cultural identity of the place and this extends beyond the process of selling books. The relationship between the people and the bookshops is unique and it stems from the Arabic definition of bookshops. In Arabic language the place where books are sold is called *Maktaba*, which means library in English,<sup>20</sup> and the majority of Arabic speakers in this Al Mutanabbi context do not call this place the street of bookshops, but the street of libraries. Arguably, this linguistic difference results from a socio-cultural difference. In Arabic Islamic cities and prior to the twentieth century, the library did not stand as a singular entity, but was attached to mosques, churches and synagogues.

After the invention of new printing technologies, not only have Arabic books been easily produced, but a plethora of foreign book titles have been imported to Baghdad, to be sold in shops still called libraries. Since illiteracy was an enormous problem in the Baghdadi context at the beginning of the twentieth century, the library (shop) owner was considered to be a well-educated and respected person, and his role was equivalent to the role of a librarian owing to the fact that the book could be lent, swapped or sold, and any unavailable titles could be requested by readers to be secured within a reasonable amount of time. Moreover, not only was it normal for shopkeepers to have memorised the title of all their books, but to have read the majority of them as well.<sup>21</sup> These libraries (bookshops) were thus known as a place in which Baghdadi people gather and discuss various cultural topics.

Physically, Al Mutanabi Street does not stand alone as a cultural street, but extends to be part of larger cultural route in the historic centre, and there is an implicit relationship between Al Mutanabi Street, Al Rushid Street and Tahrir Square. From

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<sup>18</sup> Hassan, pp 7-10.

<sup>19</sup> Majlis al-A'lá lil-Thaqāfah, *Al-Ma'thūrāt Al-Sha'bīyah Fī 100 'ām*. Vol. II (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lá lil-Thaqāfah, 2002), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Rohi Baalbaki, 'Al-Mawrid: Arabic-English Dictionary', (Beirut: Dar El-Ilm Lilmalayin, 1995), p. 1095.

<sup>21</sup> Rauf, *The Autobiography of Qasim Muhammad Al-Rajab, the Owner and the Founder of Al-Muthanna Bookshop in Baghdad*, pp. 15-19.

the 1940s onwards, Baghdadi people in general, and intellectuals in particular, started their journey on foot from Tahrir Square through Rushid Street, visiting libraries (bookshops) and resting in various cafes along the way, until they reached their ultimate destination in Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>22</sup>

The traditions of Al Mutanabbi Street are perhaps difficult to comprehend by outsiders. In AD 2009, the English journalist and historian Justin Marozzi recorded his observation of Al Mutanabbi Street in his book *Baghdad, City of Peace, City of Blood*, commenting:

The place is a maelstrom of activity, with booksellers spreading thousands of new and second-hand titles across the ground on sheets of cardboard or wooden pallets. Browsing bookworms bury their noses inside rare editions and tatty hardbacks.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the fact that Marozzi could not identify the depth of Al Mutanabbi Street's traditions, he was able to identify the pluralism of the place, stating that 'visitors are greeted warmly here. In a city so often disfigured by appalling violence and bloodshed, the Baghdadi's courtesy and good manners are the stuff of legend and source of pride'.<sup>24</sup>

It is noteworthy that prior to AD 2008 the street, as a physical place, was left neglected in a similar way to the whole of Rusafa historic core, but the driving force for the continuity of the intangible heritage of this Street stems from its cultural traditions.

### **The Official Heritage in Al Mutanabbi Street**

The official Iraqi concept of what constituted heritage was so static that it was not developed for around three decades. It was in November 2002, just less than five months prior to invasion, that a new law for heritage was enacted. *The Law No.55 of 2002 for the Antiquities & Heritage of Iraq* superseded that of AD 1936 and its amendment in AD 1974, and has been in force without any amendments since this date.

As evidenced in the title of this new Iraqi Law, it was the first to directly introduce the word 'heritage' in a technical rather than cultural terminology. While antiquities are

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<sup>22</sup> Hassan, pp 12-13.

<sup>23</sup> Justin Marozzi, *Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 2014), pp. 32-33.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

part of heritage, the new law has technically differentiated them from other forms of heritage by introducing three technical terms:

Antiquity: the movable and immovable property which has been built, made, carved, produced, written or painted by man, those age of which is not less than 200 years, as well as the man and animal skeletons besides the plants remains.

The Heritage Material: the movable and immovable property, less than 200 years of age, possessing a historical, national, religious and artistic value.

The Historical Site: a place where a notable historical event took place, therein, regardless its age.<sup>25</sup>

What constitutes heritage would have been far clearer if the terms ancient heritage and non-ancient heritage had been used instead of ‘antiquities’ and ‘the heritage material’ respectively.

Steering away from nomenclature, the new law has significantly broadened what constitutes heritage by removing any weight given to the age value. Therefore, any non-ancient structure or a historical site can be considered to be heritage if it has another value or values but lacks significance through age.

Nevertheless, the law deals entirely with tangible heritage and the idea of intangible heritage has not been legislated in any Iraqi law or even officially introduced as secondary regulations.

Ironically, the general public, the media, architects, intellectuals, and even officials themselves consider Al Mutanabbi to be a heritage street, but neither the street nor its cultural traditions and practices are officially designated or legally considered to be heritage. The only designated heritage that therefore exists is eight individual buildings in the street: the *Qushla*, the old military court, Al Shabandar café, and five other buildings accommodating bookstores.<sup>26</sup>

### **Al Mutanabbi Street under Attack**

Unfortunately, the general precarious security circumstances in Iraq from AD 2003 onwards have impinged on Al Mutanabi Street’s traditions. This was implicitly evident after the terrorist attack which exploded the dome of one of the most Shia

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<sup>25</sup> 'The Iraqi Law Number 55 in 2002 for the Antiquities and Heritage', (Baghdad: The Republic of Iraq, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> The Manger of the heritage department at The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, 'Al Mutanabi Street Development Project ', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2016).

Muslim holy shrines inside the historic city of Samarra on 22 February 2006.<sup>27</sup> This act accelerated sectarian violence in Iraq to an unprecedented level and in a precautionary measure, the Iraqi government imposed a Friday curfew order for more than one year, imposed on June 2006 and lifted on 21 September 2007.<sup>28</sup> This not only reduced the number of visitors to the street, but ceased the traditional Friday cultural practices within it.

The second security challenge to Al Mutanabi Street's traditions took place when the street itself was subject to a terrorist attack on 05 March 2007 and a car bomb exploded killing 39 people, injuring 65 and devastating a large part of its buildings and shops, including the oldest established libraries in the Street and the Al Shabandar café.<sup>29</sup>

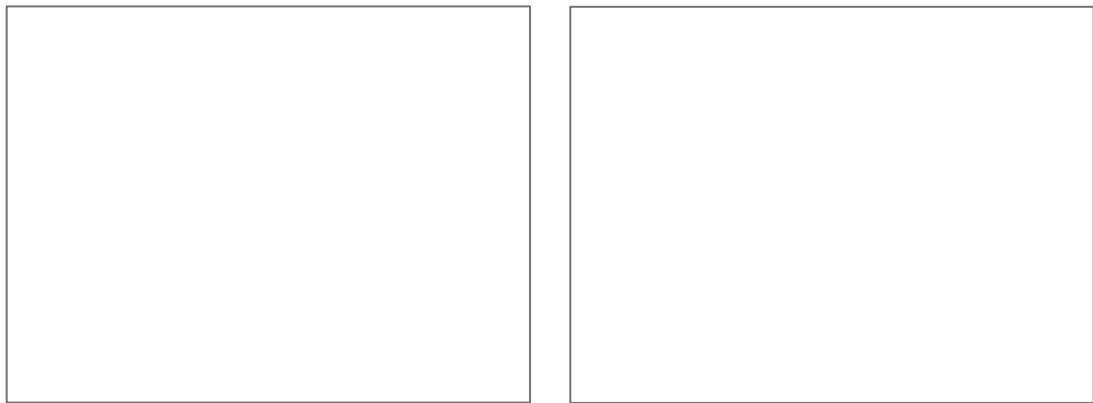


Figure 6.04&6.05: The devastating impact of the terrorist attack on Al Mutanabbi Street.<sup>30</sup>

### Local Responses

Just three days after the attack, the first local cultural response to the terrorist attack was to arrange a spontaneous makeshift cultural carnival organized by a group of artists, poets, actors, and writers in front of the Al Shabandar café. The performance employed a theatrical scene in which the main theme condemned the attack, while poets standing on the rubble delivered verses of poetry defying terror and

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<sup>27</sup> Almada, 'Terrorism Targeted Imam Ali and Imam Hasan Al Askari Shrine', *Almada* 23 February 2006, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Almada, 'Al Mutanabi Street Raised from Its Ashes', *Almada* 24 September 2007, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Almada, 'Al Mutanabi Transformed into Rubbles', *Almada* 07 March 2007, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Aljazeera Media Network, *Cultural Institute Funds the Rehabilitation of Al Mutanabbi Street*, Aljazeera Media Network, (23 March 2007)

<<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/cultureandart/2007/3/23/%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A6%D8%A9-%D8%AB%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D9%85%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%AA%D8%A3%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%B4%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A8%D8%BA%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AF>> [Accessed 12 March 2017].

commemorating those who had lost their lives.<sup>31</sup> At the end of this carnival, a statement was issued by Baghdadi poets inviting their counterparts in poetry and culture in the Arab-Muslim world and the whole of humanity, to stand in solidarity with Baghdad, a city with a legacy for the culture of civilization.<sup>32</sup>

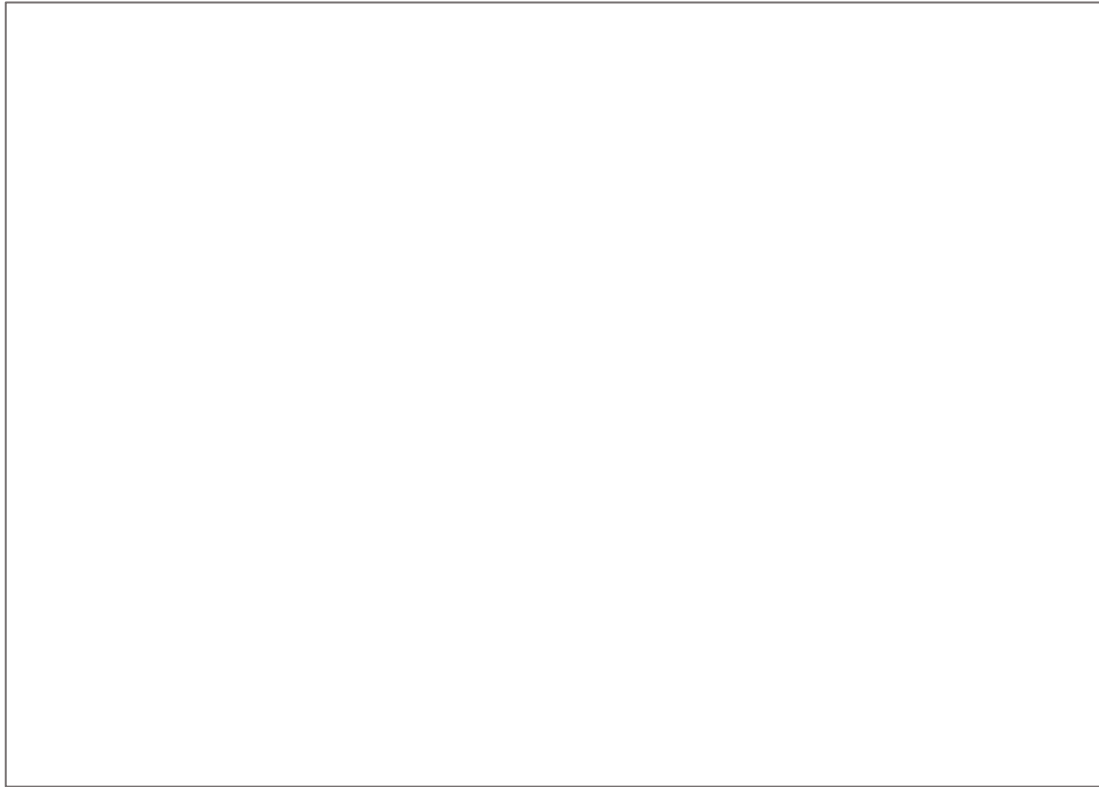


Figure 6.06: A poet delivering commemorating verses while standing on rubbles in Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>33</sup>

Amid this tense atmosphere, The Union of Iraqi Writers described the attack as an act aiming to assassinate Baghdadi and national cultures, and called for the Iraqi authorities to promptly restore the libraries, and to transform the Al Shabandar café into a cultural centre and a museum.<sup>34</sup>

However, in a country where insurance has been absent for decades, and without any form of official compensation, the libraries' owners started to revamp their properties depending only on their savings, although it is noteworthy that the Almada Foundation

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<sup>31</sup> Jalal Hassan, 'Books' Lamentation in Al Mutanabbi Street', *Almada* 11 March 2007, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> Baghdadi Poets, 'Declaration of Baghdadi Poets ', *Amada* 11 March 2007, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Salman Dawood Muhammad, *When We Have Been in Al Mutanabi Street: The Dragon of Terror Devouring Books and People*, Iraqi critic, (05 March 2019) <<https://www.alnaked-aliraqi.net/article/61312.php>> [Accessed 20 February 2020].

<sup>34</sup> Almada, 'Words and Lamentations after Exploding the Street of Iraqi Culture ', *Almada* 17 March 2007, p. 10.

for Media, Culture and Arts (a Non-Government Organization) donated monthly payments for those who were severally affected, and offered assistance in importing books without imposing any additional charges.<sup>35</sup>

At that time in Baghdad, where there was virtually a daily incident of at least one car bomb, security was the sole concern for the Iraqi authorities and the American invaders. The first official response to the attack came from Nouri al-Maliki, the Iraqi Prime Minister, who said that:

Holako's grandsons detonated and destroyed Al Mutannabi Street, we are engaging in a cultural battle in which Iraq has been targeted owing to its cultural heritage, those who committed the crime of exploding Al Mutannabi Street are the grandsons of Holako and the Tatars, they are part of the black cloud that arrived to Iraq in order to obliterate its cultural history.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, in an attempt to mitigate the security failure on the ground, al-Maliki set the political scene for a cultural battle by mobilizing ethnic myths more generally and the myth of decline and its associated historical memories in particular. al-Maliki linked the terrorist attack against the street with the deepest decline of Baghdad when the city was captured by the Mongol leader Holako in AD 1258. According to folklore, on the day of capturing the city, the colour of the Tigris was turned red by the blood of Baghdadis, and on the following day was turned black by ink resulting from throwing countless books into it.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, the American ambassador Ryan Crocker started to speak about security gains in Baghdad and the need to deliver essential services in Baghdad generally and in Al Mutannabi Street in particular. Upon visiting the street a few months after the terrorist attack he said in an interview with Reuters:

In talking to people on Mutanabbi Street, nobody is talking about security anymore. They're comfortable. They're open. They're doing business. Now it's we need services the damn municipality where's the water, how come they didn't finish the sewer project, how come we have to rely on generators?, this will be a year in which security

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<sup>35</sup>Suha Shaykhli, 'Almada Foundation Participated in Compensating Libraries' Owner Whom Affected in Al Mutanabi Street', *Almada* 28 June 2007, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Almada, 'Holako's Grandsons Detonated and Destroyed Al Mutannabi Street', *Almada* 08 March 2007, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Katharina Motyl, and Mahmoud Arghavan, 'Writing against Neocolonial Necropolitics: Literary Responses by Iraqi/Arab Writers to the Us 'War on Terror'', *European Journal of English Studies*, 22 (2018), 128-41 (p. 133).



gains will have to be protected and consolidated, but the focus is going to have to be on things like services, on economic opportunity and job creation.<sup>38</sup>

The official Iraqi and American efforts to emphasise the security gains on the ground was represented by the *Al Mutanabi Street Development Project* which was commissioned by the Municipality of Baghdad to the Scientific and Engineering Consulting Bureau at the University of Technology in Baghdad.<sup>39</sup>

### **Al Mutanabi Street Development Project**

In order to unify the eclectic buildings of the street, the initial design entailed the construction of a two storey colonnades on both sides of the length of the street offset from the buildings' elevation by 1.5 to 2 meters and 8 meters tall. These colonnades enabled two level movement (at ground & first floor) with bridges connecting both sides of the Street.<sup>40</sup>

Even though the initial design was approved by the municipality, it was categorically rejected by The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage. This was because of the presence of eight heritage buildings in the street, as previously explained, and the construction of colonnades, which would physically affect their elevations, as well as being of a design that did not take their existence into consideration.<sup>41</sup>

Poor mapping and recording of Rusafa historic core is the prime reason for this failure, as the municipality provided the architectural team with only a master plan (base map) of the street showing the plot boundaries without any indication of the existence and location of heritage buildings. There is no map showing heritage buildings in Baghdad within The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage; instead there is a list including only the street address of heritage buildings. Moreover, what has been recorded as heritage on the municipality's map does not correspond with The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage's list and vice versa. This makes it difficult to determine which buildings are listed. Consequently, the architects on the ground assumed that

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<sup>38</sup> Dean Yates, *Ambassador Ryan Crocker's Remarks*, Embassy of the United States Baghdad, Iraq, (24 January 2008) <[http://iraq.usembassy.gov/remarks\\_01242008.html](http://iraq.usembassy.gov/remarks_01242008.html)> [Accessed 24 August 2016].

<sup>39</sup> Almada, 'Final Designs of Al Mutanabi Street Have Been Achieved', *Almada* 12 September 2007, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> The leader of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project, 'Al Mutanabi Street Development Project', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2016).

<sup>41</sup> A senior member of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project, 'Al Mutanabi Street Development Project', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2016).

there were no heritage buildings when they assessed the street architecturally, influenced partly by its neglected and ruinous condition.<sup>42</sup>



Figure 6.07: Base Map of Al Mutanabi Street as provided by the Municipality of Baghdad to the architectural team of *Al Mutanabi Street Development Project*.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, the initial design was abandoned and the focus shifted towards achieving two aims: conserving heritage buildings, and developing the street in line with the significance of these still extant heritage buildings.<sup>44</sup>

With respect to the former aim, minimal intervention was the principal factor in the conservation intervention approach, and it entailed repairing what could be saved and restoring the severely damaged elements of each building. However, all the brickwork of the elevations of these heritage buildings were thoroughly cleaned, removing the patina, as they had suffered significantly smoke damage from the flames of burning materials in the aftermath of the explosion. The intervention work was confined throughout to the external elements of the buildings, except for the Al Shabandar café, the most damaged heritage building in the street, which was restored completely inside

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<sup>42</sup> The leader of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project.

<sup>43</sup> Polservice, 'Baghdad: Base Map', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1987).

<sup>44</sup> A senior member of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project.

and out.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, its name was changed to *Al Shabandar Café: The Café of Martyrs* in memory of its owner's five sons who were killed in the attack.<sup>46</sup>



Left: Figure 6.08: Al Shabandar café prior to the terrorist attack.<sup>47</sup>

Right: Figure 6.09: The devastating impact of the terrorist attack on Al Shabandar café.<sup>48</sup>



Left: Figure 6.10: The exterior of Al Shabandar café after restoration.<sup>49</sup>

Right: Figure 6.11: The interior of Al Shabandar café after restoration.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> National Iraqi News Agency, *Al Shabandar Retrieves Its Café in Al Mutanabbi Street and Becomes the Martyrs Café*, National Iraqi News Agency, (12 February 2009) <[http://ninanews.com/News\\_Details.aspx?k6NWqCBda8pXfqVjxDISPQ%253d%253d](http://ninanews.com/News_Details.aspx?k6NWqCBda8pXfqVjxDISPQ%253d%253d)> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

<sup>47</sup> Mohammad Shafiq, 'The Explosion of Al Mutanabi Street: Those Who Were Not There at the Time of the Crime', *Almada* 14 March 2007, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> Jamal Karim, and Miqdad Abdul Redha, 'Al Mutanabi is a Martyr Again', *Almada* 12 March 2007, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> Taken by the author.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Interestingly, in addition to the absence of thorough historic documentation and drawings pertaining to the heritage buildings prior to the attack, no working drawings were produced and the degree of intervention was determined in situ. The chronically feeble documentation practice in the city is thus evident in this project. Only a few photographs were taken during the intervention stages, which can be considered a positive step.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 6.12: Documenting the intervention while removing the damaged patina of a heritage building in Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>52</sup>

The redevelopment of the street dealt primarily with its physical context only and in developing buildings' facades in particular. It was stated by the architectural team that the elevations of the eight heritage buildings in the street were studied in order to derive common recurrent features to be used in the design of the elevations of the non-heritage buildings. The pointed arch as an element and yellow bricks as a material were selected.<sup>53,54</sup>

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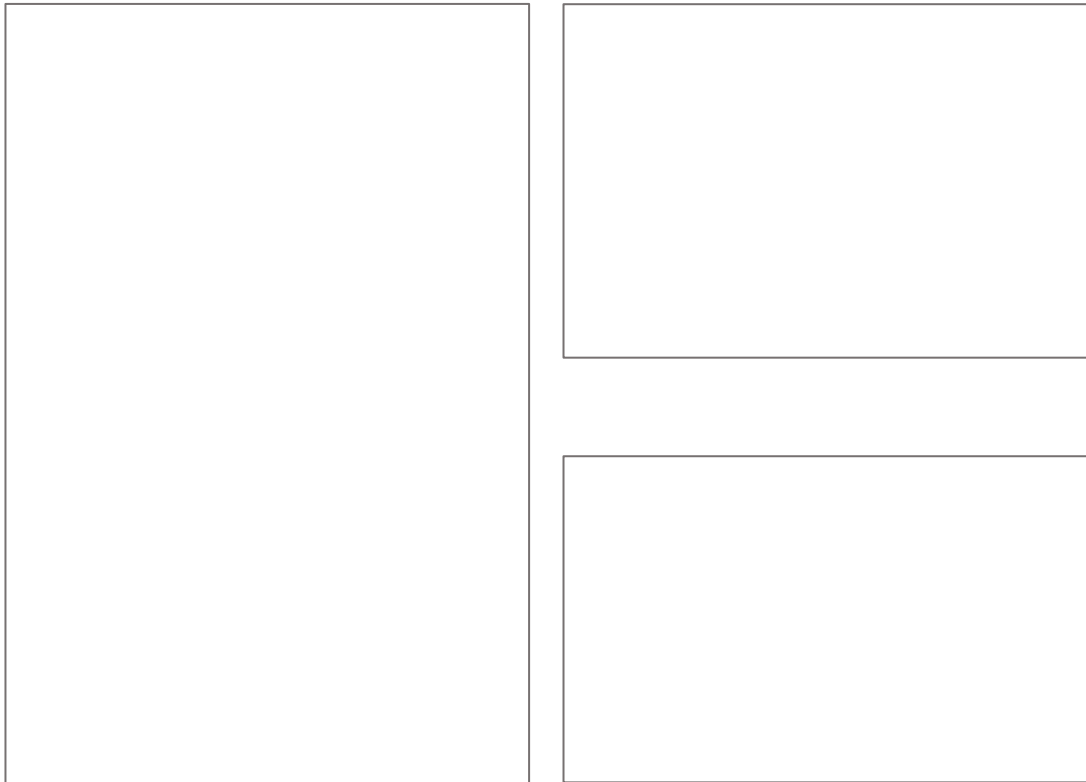
<sup>51</sup> The Manger of the heritage department at The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

<sup>52</sup> Taken by The Manger of the heritage department at The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

<sup>53</sup> A senior member of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project.

<sup>54</sup> The leader of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project.

The design interventions consisted of pedestrianizing the street using marble paving, constructing colonnades by adding (non-structural) columns under existing first floor projections on the non-heritage buildings, unifying their facades by adding brick-arch screens, constructing an arched entrance at the eastern end of the street and erecting a statue of Al Mutanabi to the west (making the statue the final destination for visitors), and establishing dock moorings on the river.<sup>55</sup> In addition, sewage, rainwater drainage, and fire protection systems were implemented.<sup>56</sup>



Left: Figure 6.13: An immense political interest was taken in developing Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>57</sup>  
Right: Figure 6.14 & 6.15: The ceremonial opening of Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>58</sup>

The total funds allocated for the project was five billion Dinars (around three and half million pounds),<sup>59</sup> and the project started on the ground on 04 November 2007.<sup>60</sup> The

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<sup>55</sup> Almada, 'Final Designs of Al Mutanabi Street Have Been Achieved ', p. 4.

<sup>56</sup> A senior member of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project.

<sup>57</sup> Maad Fayyad, *At the Crossroads*, Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, (02 October 2010) <<https://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=11700&article=589171#.XqijGGhKjIU>> [Accessed 14 April 2017].

<sup>58</sup> Buratha News Agency, *Photographic Report: Opening of Al Mutanabi Street by the Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki*, Buratha News Agency, (18 December 2008) <<http://burathanews.com/arabic/news/55691>> [Accessed 20 April 2017].

<sup>59</sup> Almada, 'Accomplishing 70 Percent of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project', *Almada* 14 June 2008, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Moayed Wahab, 'Books Sellers: Almada Sponsoring Iraqi Culture', *Almada* 18 December 2008, p. 20.

official inauguration of the new street was on 18 December 2008.<sup>61</sup> In the ceremonial opening of the street, the Iraqi Prime Minister stated that:

Al Mutanabbi Street represents the memory of Iraq, the terrorism targeted Al Mutanabbi Street because it acts as a cultural symbol. However, the will of Iraqi people is stronger than that of terrorists when they succeeded in restoring the life of this cultural edifice. The government will continue providing all supports needed to assist the cultural sector. We hope that the life will be returned to this street as it was in the past, the return of intellectuals will revive the street, and Baghdad will remain the capital of intellectuals.<sup>62</sup>

It is undeniable that protecting the eight heritage buildings in the street is important. However, the significance of Al Mutanabi as a cultural street has not stemmed chiefly from the tangible heritage represented by these scattered individual buildings, but from the intangible heritage which were manifested in the cultural practices and traditions of the street.



Figure 6.16: Al Mutanabi Street in AD 1999 prior to adding screen arches and non-structural columns.<sup>63</sup>

Sadly, *Al Mutanabi Street Development Project* ignored the intangible heritage of the place. Instead, it attempted to make a new unified street heritage by wrapping its eclectic modern buildings with Islamic pointed arches. This type of arch was a

<sup>61</sup> Almada, 'The Inauguration of Al Mutanabi Street', *Almada* 20 December 2008, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> National Iraqi News Agency, *Al-Maliki in Opening Al Mutanabi Street: Baghdad Will Remain the Capital of Intellectuals and Creatives*, National Iraqi News Agency, (18 December 2008) <[http://ninanews.com/News\\_Details.aspx?cCYLPk4mkS9wCcRICdDnyw%253d%253d](http://ninanews.com/News_Details.aspx?cCYLPk4mkS9wCcRICdDnyw%253d%253d)> [Accessed 20 July 2016]

<sup>63</sup> Taken by the author in AD 1999.

predominant feature during the Abbasid period, it is one of the key symbolic references to that period and can be found in the ancient buildings in Baghdad such the so-called Abbasid Palace, Mustansiriya *madrasa*, and Mirjaniya *madrasa* mosque.

Figure 6.17: Adding arches to the elevations of the non-heritage buildings of Al Mutanabi Street as drawn by the architectural team.<sup>64</sup>



Figure 6.18: Al Mutanabi Street after adding screen arches and non-structural columns.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> From the archive of the senior member of the architectural team of Al Mutanabi Street Development Project.

<sup>65</sup> Taken as part of this research survey.



Left: Figure 6.19: Al Mutanabi Street after constructing the arched gate.<sup>66</sup>

Right: Figure 6.20: Facades of Al Mutanabi Street after constructing the arched screens.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 6.21 & 6.22: Facades of Al Mutanabi Street after constructing the arched screens.<sup>68</sup>

Even if this approach of prioritizing tangible heritage over the intangible was warranted, the use of the pointed arch cannot be justified as it is not the most frequent feature in the facades of the heritage buildings in the street. After revisiting the eight heritage buildings, it was found that only one has the pointed arch as an architectural motif, while all of them have several semi-circular arches. Therefore, a semi-circular arch, which can be found abundantly in Baghdadi vernacular architecture, could have been used more. Selecting the pointed arch has made the buildings acquire a symbolic reference to a more ancient yet unrelated heritage and consequently attempted to transform and value the modern buildings by alluding to an imaginary past.

<sup>66</sup> Taken by the author.

<sup>67</sup> Taken as part of this research survey.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.





Figure 6.23: The only listed heritage building in Al Mutanabi Street that has a pointed arch.<sup>69</sup>



Figure 6.24: The listed heritage buildings in Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>70</sup> Al Shabandar café (Figure 6.10) is a listed heritage building as well.

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.



Figure 6.25: The listed heritage buildings in Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>71</sup>

It is evident in the municipality's statement that the *Al Mutanabbi Street development Project* transcended rehabilitation through innovation and additions by erecting an Arab Islamic colonnade to denote heritage and aesthetic.<sup>72</sup> The municipality stated that the project would intensify the heritage of the street and transform it into a heritage tourist street.<sup>73</sup>

Imposing the Islamic Arch on the facades of the modern buildings in the street also represents a political attempt to create a new scenery reflecting Baghdadi-Islamic identity and culture. This editing of the history of the place and creating a new

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> National Iraqi News Agency, *The Municipality: Al Mutanabbi Street Project Transcended the Rehabilitation Limit to Reach the Zones of Innovations and Additions*, National Iraqi News Agency, (22 May 2008) <[http://ninanews.com/News\\_Details.aspx?mUkypBBoYQiDsNsudnCUJA%253d%253d](http://ninanews.com/News_Details.aspx?mUkypBBoYQiDsNsudnCUJA%253d%253d)> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

<sup>73</sup> National Iraqi News Agency, *Al Mutanabbi Street Project: Preparation Completed*, National Iraqi News Agency, (11 September 2007) <[http://ninanews.com/News\\_Details.aspx?45Pkxgq6BChH2IlyIXSSog%253d%253d](http://ninanews.com/News_Details.aspx?45Pkxgq6BChH2IlyIXSSog%253d%253d)> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

imagery, in spite of being superficial and fake in terms of a conservation discourse, introduces a historical symbol for the future.

This approach of dressing up modern buildings with historical Islamic symbols to reflect national identity has frequently been used in Baghdad and other Islamic cities. A significant amount of literature warns against the construction of 'a facade of Islamic architecture, hiding the new behind a shallow imitation of the old'.<sup>74</sup> This 'historically derivative approach', once poorly executed, 'insults tradition and our senses'.<sup>75</sup> Garry Martin adds that:

a hybrid genre of buildings has been created where multi-storeyed buildings have facades of arches and domes grafted on to them - a superficial attempt to identify to the Islamic community buildings which in reality owe their existence more to the international style and modern technology than to the inspiration of Islam...Middle East is forced into restricted moulds based purely on archaeological nostalgia in a misguided attempt to determine the nature of future Islamic architecture.<sup>76</sup>

What has made the use of this approach unique in Al Mutanabi Street is that it has been imposed on already constructed and occupied eclectic modern buildings.

This idea that heritage places could be constructed by using yellow bricks and having an arched gate has made numerous heritage locations in Baghdad very similar, minimizing their distinctive local identity. The use of such material and elements in Al Mutanabi Street is attributed to what has been termed as 'a standardization of professional practice' and 'catalogue heritagization'.<sup>77</sup> Every traditional *suq* in Rusafa that has been intervened with, has a newly constructed arched gate and the facades of its shops dressed in yellow bricks and arched forms to provide an image of what the city's tangible heritage should be. Using such material and elements has become a standard within local professional practice and part of the *suq*'s heritage catalogue

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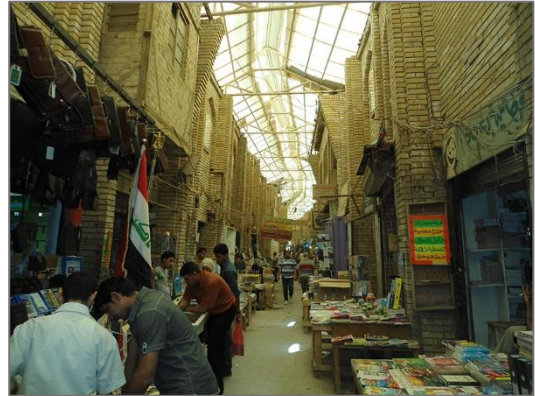
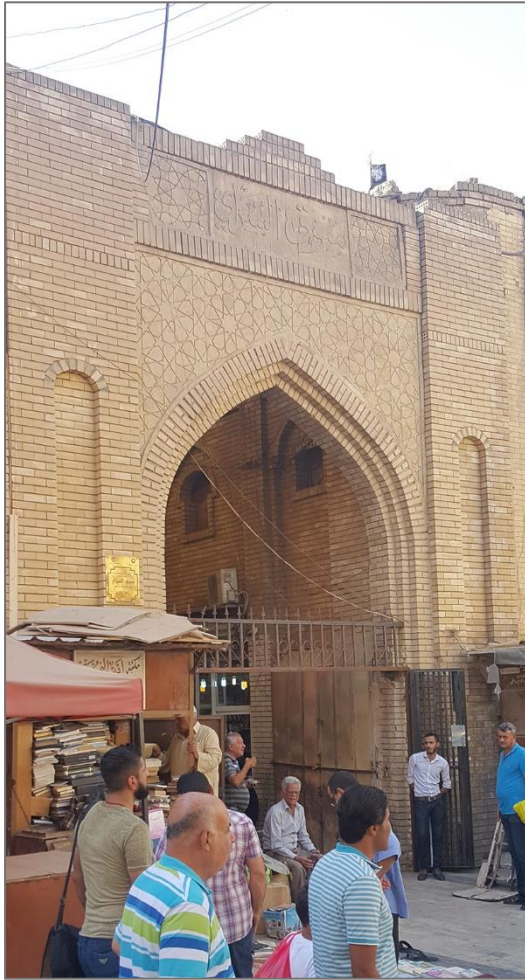
<sup>74</sup> Mildred F. Schmertz, 'Design in the Spirit of Islam: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture', *Architectural Record*, March 1979, pp. 117-24 (p. 119).

<sup>75</sup> Tay Kheng Soon, 'Case Study 3 – Singapore: Cultural Identity in Architecture as Perceived from a Singapore Viewpoint', in *Architecture and Identity*, ed. by Robert Powell (Singapore: Concept Media/Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1983), pp. 46-51 (p. 48).

<sup>76</sup> Garry Martin, 'Building in the Middle East Today - in Search of a Direction', in *Focus on Arab Architecture: Past and Present, a Record of a Four-Week Exhibition and Associated Functions Held in London on 24 January -17 February 1984 by the Arab-British Chamber of Commerce* (London: An Arab-British Chamber of Commerce publication, 1984), pp. 60-63 (p. 62).

<sup>77</sup> Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000), pp. 217-18.

since the beginning of 1980s. For example, an identical approach was used at Sarai *suq* and Safarin *suq* in Rusafa historic core.



Left: Figure 6.26: Sarai *suq*, an arched gate was constructed in the conservation of the *suq* in 1980s.<sup>78</sup>

Right top: Figure 6.27: Sarai *suq*, bricks were used as traditional materials in the conservation of the *suq* in 1980s.<sup>79</sup>

Right bottom: Figure 6.28: Sarai *suq*, arches were constructed in the conservation of the *suq* in 1980s.<sup>80</sup>

However, instead of brick paving, Al Mutanabi Street was paved with marble, which is a very expensive material in Baghdad, in contrast to what would be expected in traditional *suqs* in the city. The reason for such a selection was that it was imposed on the design by the Mayor of Baghdad to primarily aggrandize the street. Marble paving cannot withstand the impact of loading and unloading of heavy goods vehicles without

<sup>78</sup> Taken as part of this research survey.

<sup>79</sup> Taken by the author.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

cracking on the one hand, and is not environmentally suitable for sunny hot dry open spaces on the other hand, as it reflects the sun rays instead of absorbing the heat.

Even though the construction of the brick-arch screens and colonnades was compulsory, Al Mutanabi Street was nevertheless the first conservation project in Baghdad that adopted a community engagement. A consultation with the owners of the buildings and bookshops took place, and the majority of them agreed about the design once it was announced that it would not incur any cost to them and that the municipality was covering the expenses. But they disagreed in the location of the colonnades, and therefore some of the columns were repositioned from obscuring the elevations of, and entrances to, the bookshops.

Sadly, the consultation did not include a discussion about the way in which to strengthen the traditions and practices in the street or how its spatial arrangement – including allocating specific spaces on the street’s floorscape to display books – could support these traditions.

Despite the criticism of this research, unifying the elevations, adopting a visual tidying up approach and enhancing the infrastructure supporting the cultural function of the street was welcomed by the general public. This is a common outcome in many conservation projects in the world as Aylin Orbasli reminds us that:

The objective of conservation in many places appears to be moving from ‘continuity of the lived-in environment’ to more aesthetic and external qualities, intended to appeal to the visitor’s perceptions in the external realm.<sup>81</sup>

The reason for this approach in Al Mutanabi Street was that the whole area of Rusafa was a neglected eyesore and there was a lack of adequate infrastructure prior to the attack. The project provides pleasing scenery and a wholesome environment by comparison to the rest of the historic core.

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<sup>81</sup> Aylin Orbasli, *Tourists in Historic Towns: Urban Conservation and Heritage Management* (London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002), p. 2.

## The Place after The Project, Its Identity, And New Activities

You can bomb a bookstore or ban  
a book, but it will not die. You cannot kill  
a poem like you can a man.  
Al-Mutanabbi Street will rise again.<sup>82</sup>

Indeed, the physical environment of the Street was destroyed in the attack, and significantly changed after the project, but by the power of its intangible heritage, the cultural life of the Street has since been restored. This has not only been noticed by Baghdadi intellectuals, but by the Western media as well. *The Baghdad Street of books that refuse to die* was an article published in the Independent Newspaper describing the life of the street five years after the attack.<sup>83</sup>

The reason for this survival, as discussed in chapter 2, is that intangible heritage is fragile, but resilient and cannot be suddenly destroyed in the same way as tangible heritage. As Baghdadi intellectuals are the bearers and guards of traditional practices, these practices will be transmitted, but might be gradually transformed based on the recipients' circumstances and the change of the physical environment in which such practices take place.

Consequently, three noticeable activities, which have emerged after the completion of *Al Mutanabbi Street development Project*, have affected the traditions, practices, and thus the identity of the street. First, a weekly activity of celebrating and honouring one distinguished Iraqi writer, artist, poet, critic, or educationist takes place in the street, focusing on his or her work and its impact on the Iraqi cultural scene.<sup>84-85</sup>

Second, the Street has been transformed to be a place of civic protest against the Iraqi government. Virtually every Friday a demonstration of Baghdadi intellectuals demanding the Iraqi government to act on various public issues takes place. For examples, Afrah Qaisi, who is a campaigning female journalist, was kidnapped in

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<sup>82</sup> Sam Hamill, 'To Salah Al-Hamdani, November, 2008', in *Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here*, ed. by Beau Beausoleil and Deema K. Shehabi (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), p. 68.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Fisk, 'Robert Fisk: The Baghdad Street of Books That Refuse to Die', Independent Newspaper, (13/04/2012) <<http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/fisk/robert-fisk-the-baghdad-street-of-books-that-refuses-to-die-7643876.html>> [Accessed 21/07/2016].

<sup>84</sup> Daa Azad, and Mahmoud Raouf, 'Al Mada House Celebrates the Pioneering Graphic Designer, Rafi Al-Nasri, the Poet of Colour, Beauty, and Nature', *Almada* 28 September 2013, p. 20.

<sup>85</sup> Nora Khalid, and Mahmoud Raouf, 'Afifa Askander, the Lover of Baghdad Who Will Not Be Forgotten', *Almada* 03 November 2012, p. 20.

Baghdad by militiamen after expressing her views.<sup>86</sup> In this case, Baghdadi journalists launched several demonstrations in the Street demanding the right of free speech after a systematic attack on them by Iraqi militias.<sup>87</sup> Consequently, as the place provides the platform to put pressure on Iraqi government, Afrah Qaisi was freed unharmed.<sup>88</sup>

Left: Figure 6.29: Celebrating and honouring the achievements of Rafi Al-Nasri, who was a pioneering Iraqi Graphic Designer, in Al-Mutanabbi Street.<sup>89</sup>

Right: Figure 6.30: Celebrating and honouring the achievements of Afifa Askander, who was a Baghdadi famous singer, in Al-Mutanabbi Street.<sup>90</sup>

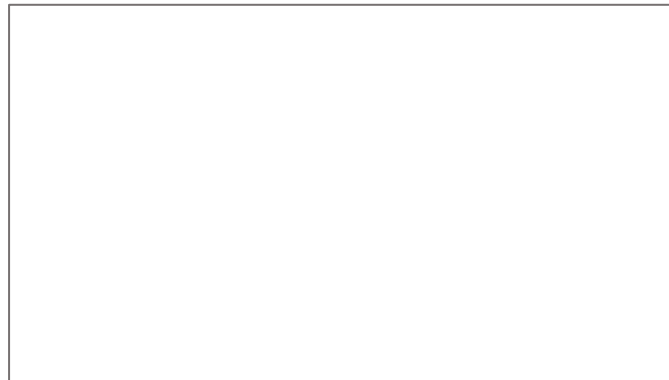


Figure 6.31: A demonstration in Al-Mutanabbi Street demanding the release of Afrah Qaisi.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> BBC, *Iraq Gunmen Kidnap Campaigning Female Journalist*, BBC, (27 December 2016) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-38442805>> [Accessed 30 December 2016].

<sup>87</sup> National Iraqi News Agency, *Demonstration of Journalists in Al Mutanabbi Street Demanding the Right of Free Speech*, National Iraqi News Agency, (14 August 2009) <[http://ninanews.com/News\\_Details.aspx?XIT5%252f216AEnOplq8WNBqaQ%253d%253d](http://ninanews.com/News_Details.aspx?XIT5%252f216AEnOplq8WNBqaQ%253d%253d)> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

<sup>88</sup> BBC, *Afrah Qaisi: Iraqi Journalist Freed after Baghdad Kidnap*, BBC, (04 January 2017) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-38510102>> [Accessed 07 January 2017].

<sup>89</sup> Azad and Raouf, p. 20.

<sup>90</sup> Khalid and Raouf, p. 20.

<sup>91</sup> Baghdadi social media.

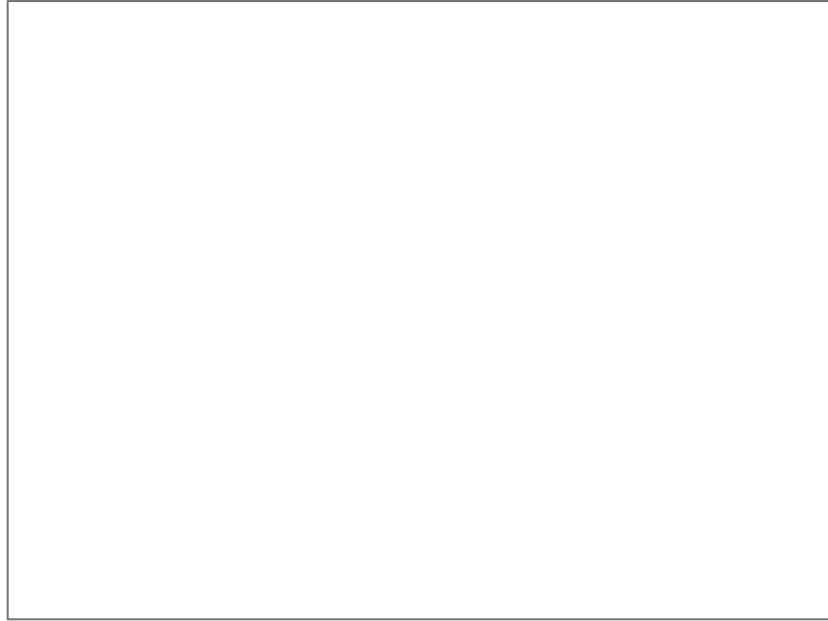


Figure 6.32: Statue of Al-Mutanabbi becomes a gathering point for demonstrators.<sup>92</sup>

Third, after surviving the act of terrorism against it, Al Mutanabi Street has fallen victim to tourism activity following the heritagization and transformation of the place. The pressures of tourism, overcrowding and congestion in particular, has led to a disruption of local lifestyles within the street and to alter its identity. Ali Labi and Zainib Azawi describe the changes to Friday life in the street respectively:

Some of the so-called intellectuals or those who pretend to be intellectuals are in the Street for trivial matters and their presence confined to take some photographs.<sup>93</sup>

Significant number of Baghdadi youth starts to attend Al Mutanabbi Street, making it a very crowded place. Impacting the intellectuals' traditions, taking photos and ending their day trip by using boats on Tigris to compensate the lack of youth centre in the city after 2003.<sup>94</sup>

An Iraqi architect testifies that:

I cannot recognize the place anymore, Al Mutanabbi Street is packed with local tourists and intellectual arrivistes who pretend to be patrons of the Street. Al Shabandar café is filled with them instead of the Baghdadi well-established intellectuals.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ali Hasoon Labi, 'Al Mutanabi Street Is Environment for Freedom But', *Azzaman Arabic Daily Newspaper* 20 January 2015, p. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Zainib Azawi, 'Al Mutanabbi and Crowded Youths', *Azzaman Arabic Daily Newspaper* 30 January 2016, p. 13.

<sup>95</sup> An Iraqi architect, 'Al Mutanabi Street', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2017).



Tourism activity, which affected the identity of the place dramatically and was not welcomed by the majority of intellectuals who supported the former two activities, has transformed the street from an exclusive hub for intellectuals to an inclusive place in which people of various intellectual abilities can mix together. The transformation of the street provides a melting pot in which those tourists or casual new arrivals can adhere to the traditions of the street, upgrade their skills, and become patrons of the Street and intellectuals in the future themselves.

Despite the positive and negative effects of these emergent activities on the continuity of the Street traditions and identity, Al Mutanabbi Street is still valued as a place of high cultural significance by the majority of Baghdadis. This is articulated on the ground by the Iraqi novelist, Lutfiya al-Dulaimi, who initiated a media campaign to protect the Street by calling to add Al Mutanabbi Street to the World Heritage List.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, it is a civic campaign and the Iraqi government is not involved, and nothing formally has yet been achieved in terms of preparing the street as a case to be submitted for evaluation, but it reflects the passion to protect a nationally significant place of culture and memory.

However, prior to championing international recognition of the street's intangible heritage, it is of paramount importance to protect the heritage of the street first by campaigning to amend *The Law No.55 of 2002 for the Antiquities & Heritage of Iraq* by adding relevant clauses of support for a category of intangible heritage.

It is noteworthy that the success and continuity of the street's traditions have generated a catalyst to rehabilitate and adaptively-reuse other historical buildings and streets in the area, including the Qushla Building, the Baghdadi Museum of Culture, Al Qushla Street and Hasan bin Thabit Street. In addition, academic and cultural institutions have stated that the success of *Al Mutanabbi Street development Project* has encouraged them to demand a similar project to rehabilitate Al Rashid Street.<sup>97</sup>

Furthermore, the success of Al Mutanabi Street as an active street of culture has exceeded the Baghdadi context, and the street has become a paradigm for culture at national level. Between AD 2015 and 2016, several Iraqi provinces, Najaf, Basra and

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<sup>96</sup> Lutfiya al-Dulaimi, 'Al Mutanabbi Street: Does the Street Be Added to the Protected Heritage Sites?', *Almada* 13 January 2013, p. 17.

<sup>97</sup> Adel al-Ardawi, 'Al Mutanabbi Is the Guardian of Al Mutanabbi Street', *Almada* 09 June 2008, p. 11.

Diyala, emulated its success and allocated a cultural Street in their historical cores, Al Khurnq Street, Al Faraaheedi Street, and Al-Jawahiri Street respectively, not to compete with Al Mutanabi Street, but to simulate it and provide a cultural place for local intellectuals to gather.<sup>98,99,100</sup>

Yet, the ignorance and the lack of the recognition of intangible heritage has had severe sequences on the place and its visitors. In an unprecedented incident on the afternoon of 17 September 2012, without prior notice, and under the justification of removing eyesores from Baghdadi streets, the municipality's inspectors backed by forces of Iraqi police and army raided Al Mutanabi Street, destroying all the wooden racks, pallets, and sunshades, damaging book displays throughout the street and verbally abusing the book sellers. The municipality official statement stated that the sale of books on the street ground is only permitted on Fridays<sup>101</sup>.

This provoked outrage among Baghdadi intellectuals who raised the slogan 'if Al Mutanabi [the poet] was alive, he would protest' accusing the municipality of transforming the Street from a paradise of knowledge to a landfill of torn books.<sup>102</sup> The result of this protest was the formation of a committee on 13 October 2012 consisting primarily of bookshop owners, writers, and a few specialists from the municipality of Rusafa. The main aim was to create the necessary regulations for selling books in Al Mutanabi Street.<sup>103</sup> Sadly, until now the regulations have not formulated yet.<sup>104</sup>

However, the cultural life of the street continues. Its traditions and practices, which survived the tourist attack, are resilient to survive the municipality's disruption and non-recognition as intangible heritage. Baghdadi intellectuals and visitors continue their weekly pilgrimage to this street.

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<sup>98</sup> Haider Asadi, 'Basra Commends Al Faraaheedi Street', *Azzaman Arabic Daily Newspaper* 21 June 2015.

<sup>99</sup> Saadoun Jabri, 'Similar to Al Mutanabi, Najaf Allocates a Street', *Azzaman Arabic Daily Newspaper* 28 April 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Hasan Ahmed, 'Inauguration of Al Faraaheedi Street in Baquba with the Participation of the Province's Intellectuals', *Almada* 21 February 2016, p. 7.

<sup>101</sup> Moayad Tayeb, and Ghazanfar Alaibi, 'Municipality of Baghdad: Al Mutanabi Street Will Be Similar to Al Gazel Suq', *Almada* 19 September 2012, p. 4.

<sup>102</sup> Yahia Alseemaoyi, 'If Al Mutanabi Was Alive, He Would Protest', *Almada* 29 September 2012, p. 18.

<sup>103</sup> Ghazanfar Alaibi, 'Books Sellers Emphasize on Securing Their Role in a Committee for the Rehabilitation of Al Mutanabi Street', *Almada* 22 October 2012, p. 6.

<sup>104</sup> Adnan Hussein, 'Al Mutanabbi Street', *Almada* 23 January 2016, p. 2.

### **International Dimension: Al-Mutanabbi Street and the International Responses**

The terrorist attack against Al-Mutanabbi Street has received universal condemnation. Even though the majority of had only an ephemeral effect and lost impetus shortly afterwards, there are two parallel international responses which have developed and have had persistent international cultural consequences until today.

The first was led in August 2007 by the American poet and bookseller, Beau Beausoleil, who read the first memorial commemoration to those who lost their lives in Al-Mutanabbi Street. Beausoleil 'decided to create a coalition of poets, artists, writers, printers, booksellers, and readers'.<sup>105</sup> The idea behind the coalition stemmed from a cultural obligation felt by Beausoleil and numerous people around the globe, and he stated that:

I felt, as a poet and bookseller here in San Francisco, an urgent need to keep this singular, tragic event in our consciousness, because it has such deep historical and cultural implications, for us, here in this country, and for the people of Iraq.<sup>106</sup>

Beausoleil had two cardinal aims in creating the international coalition. First, to accommodate and unify the responses of those involved in the arts to the heinous crime. Second, to draw a commonality between Al-Mutanabbi Street and other similar cultural streets, which accommodate bookstores and cultural institutions, around the world. The commonality provides the means to send a powerful message to the public around the globe that the attack on Al-Mutanabbi Street was an attack on all humanity.

He expressed that:

I have always wanted the Iraqi cultural community to know that we would not let them endure all that has happened in silence. Al-Mutanabbi Street starts in many places around the globe. Everywhere it starts it seeks to include the free exchange of ideas. We must safeguard that.

These are our words.

Al-Mutanabbi Street starts here.<sup>107</sup>

By creating the coalition, Beausoleil's response transcended several memorial readings focusing entirely on a single terrorist attack 'into a cultural initiative that celebrates words, books, ideas, and the way they connect us'.<sup>108</sup> The cultural initiative

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<sup>105</sup> Beau Beausoleil, 'Introduction', in *Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here*, ed. by Beau Beausoleil and Deema K. Shehabi (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), pp. vii-viii (p. vii).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

<sup>108</sup> M. Karim Persis, 'A Day That Lingers with Us Still: Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here', *World Literature Today*, 86 (2012), 33-37 (p. 36).

focuses on the long-lived power of arts and literature and their unique abilities in buttressing the platform on which ideas can be freely expressed and shared cultural spaces that can be maintained.<sup>109</sup>

A vast collection of arts and literature has been produced by the coalition and it has continued to expand rapidly. It includes *Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here* which is an anthology of poems and essays, 133 broadsides, and 262 artists' hand-made books. The majority of this cultural production has travelled around the globe to be exhibited in galleries, museums, universities, and cultural institutions.<sup>110</sup> For example, an advert for the collection in the Collins Memorial Library in October 2013 announced that:

Currently on display in the Collins Memorial Library lobby, many beautiful books of colorful visual art, calligraphy and poetry—in Arabic and English, as well as a number of other languages—from the diverse exhibition stand testament to the resiliency of the intellectual spirit.

Now, one set of each of the books in Beausoleil's intricate exhibit travels around the world to universities and centers of learning, while another complete set of the books has been donated to the Iraq National Library in Baghdad.<sup>111</sup>

In addition, cultural festivals, conferences, and events based on the themes of the coalition's cultural initiative took place. For example, *Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here DC 2016 Cultural Festival* in Washington in January-March 2016,<sup>112</sup> and *Al-Mutanabbi Street Literary Salon* in London in March 2017.<sup>113</sup>

*It Is What It Is: Conversations About Iraq* was the second international response, a dynamic and mobile project by the British artist and Turner Prize winner Jeremy Deller. The aim of the project was to 'stimulate unmediated dialogue about the history, present circumstances, and future of Iraq'.<sup>114</sup> The project had two stages of unmediated dialogue; the first took place in an exhibition setting in a room at the New Museum in New York where the only exhibit was a car destroyed in the Al Mutanabbi Street terrorist attack.<sup>115</sup> Journalists, American soldiers, and Iraqi refugees and asylum

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<sup>109</sup> Sonja Staum-Kuniej, 'The Power of the Arts to Speak: The Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here Project at IUPUI', *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America*, 34 (2015), 223-34 (p. 224).

<sup>110</sup> Persis, 33-37 (p. 36).

<sup>111</sup> Kathryn Stutz, 'Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here at the Library', *University Wire*, 11 October 2013.

<sup>112</sup> Sarah Irvin, and Helen Frederick, *Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here Dc 2016* <<https://hdl.handle.net/1920/10351>> [Accessed 15 October 2018].

<sup>113</sup> Held in The Arab British Centre in London and attended by the author.

<sup>114</sup> Jeremy Deller, 'It Is What It Is: Conversations About Iraq-Traveling', *Creative Time*, (2009) <[creativetime.org/projects/it-is-what-it-is-conversations-about-iraq/](http://creativetime.org/projects/it-is-what-it-is-conversations-about-iraq/)> [Accessed 19 January 2017].

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

seekers were invited by Deller to engage with visitors of the museum in one-to-one conversations about Iraq for a six-week period, from 11 February to 22 March 2009.<sup>116</sup> The destroyed car was originally used in the Netherlands in demonstrations against the war and its devastating consequences in Iraq, but in Deller's project it was employed fundamentally to elicit memories of those involved in the Iraqi conflict and to establish a conversation with the American general public about Iraq in the heart of the United States. Deller argued that the 'car was really a conversation piece. [...] It's a way to get people talking, and get them agitated maybe'.<sup>117</sup> He added that it was 'unusual to see anything from the conflict in Iraq "in life" so I was interested in being able to show this car to the public'.<sup>118</sup> Indeed, it is the symbolic value of the car that:

takes the audience's thoughts in different directions as they inspect the twisted metal that was once a fully formed vehicle, maybe like their own. It takes the audience to a place of realism and realization and takes something that is often out of sight and out of mind and places it directly in the guest's line of sight.<sup>119</sup>

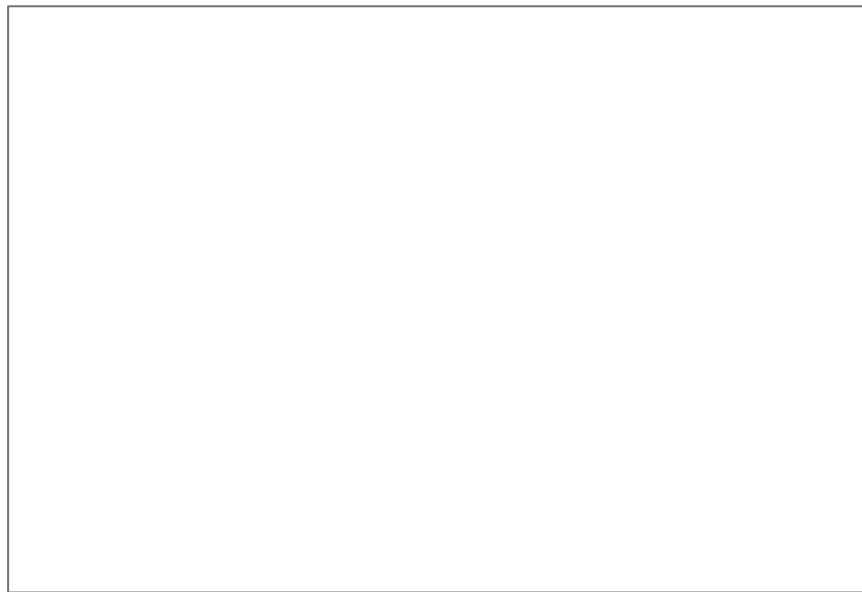


Figure 6.33: A destroyed car from Al Mutanabbi Street in the New Museum in New York.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Laura Hoptman, Nato Thompson, and Amy Mackie, 'It Is What It Is: Conversations About Iraq', Creative Time, (2009) <[creativetime.org/programs/archive/2009/deller/description.php](http://creativetime.org/programs/archive/2009/deller/description.php)> [Accessed 19 January 2017].

<sup>117</sup> Frederick Deknatel, *Baghdad Chassis*, The Oxonian Review, (2011) <<http://www.oxonianreview.org/wp/baghdad-chassis/>> [Accessed 11 December 2017].

<sup>118</sup> BBC, *Iraqi Bombed Car on Show at Imperial War Museum North*, BBC News, (2011) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-12973302>> [Accessed 17 January 2017].

<sup>119</sup> *Why Did Jeremy Deller Bring an Iraqi Suicide Car Bomb into Museums?*, Public Delivery, (2016) <<https://publicdelivery.org/jeremy-deller-it-is-what-it-is-conversations-about-iraq/>> [Accessed 19 March 2017].

<sup>120</sup> Jeremy Deller, *It Is What It Is, 2009*, Creative Time, (2009) <[www.conversationsaboutiraq.org](http://www.conversationsaboutiraq.org)> [Accessed 19 January 2017].

To engage with a wider American audience, the second stage, which spanned over nine months from the end of March to November 2009, entailed touring the destroyed car in streets and cities around the United States with a sign attached to it that said ‘This car was destroyed by a bomb in a Baghdad marketplace on March 5, 2007’.<sup>121</sup> Deller emphasised the mobility of the project and described the way in which it should be accomplished, stating that:

This project started as the idea to create a mobile museum of the war in Iraq that would tour the US. Finding material for the museum proved difficult, until we were offered a car that had been used in previous exhibitions. From this car, used as a centrepiece, we constructed a room in the museum where the public could meet and talk to people involved in the conflict in some way. The idea was then taken on the road; we towed the car from New York to LA, stopping off in 14 towns and cities on the way – a classic American road trip route – accompanied by an Iraqi citizen and an enlisted American soldier.<sup>122</sup>

Indeed, Deller’s project represents a novel way to protest against war’s detrimental effects and to trigger a debate around the aftermath of the Iraqi conflict by employing the symbolic value of the car and the tragedy of Al Mutanabbi Street. However, a new heritage has been made, the value of the car and its associated meanings have been transformed from being considered as a mere piece of wreckage to a cornerstone exhibit in a mobile museum.

Figure 6.34: A destroyed car from Al Mutanabbi Street during a tour in the United States.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

Once the project had finished and after a slight modification to the wreckage, Deller donated the car to the Imperial War Museum in London (IWM). The museum has added it to its permanent collection, registering it under the name ‘Baghdad, March 5th 2007’, and has exhibited it in the focal point of the ground floor main wing.<sup>124</sup> Attached to it, a small digital screen displays photos of Al Mutanabbi Street prior to and immediately after the terrorist attack, the car journey across the United States and how it ultimately has been ended up in the Museum.<sup>125</sup> Deller comments that he was ‘very happy that the Imperial War Museum has taken this object into its collections and is putting it on such prominent display - I couldn't think of a better home for it in this country’.<sup>126</sup>



Figure 6.35: The destroyed car of Al Mutanabbi Street exhibited next to powerful machines of war in the Imperial War Museum in London.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *Baghdad, March 5th 2007*, Imperial War Museums, (<<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/70000413>> [Accessed 15 December 2017]).

<sup>125</sup> An observation by the author while visiting the IWM on 31 August 2016.

<sup>126</sup> BBC, *Iraqi Bombed Car on Show at Imperial War Museum North*.

<sup>127</sup> Taken by the author.

Exhibiting a destroyed civilian car – whose original owner and type are unknown<sup>128</sup> – brought from an overseas arena of conflict in a well-established imperial museum that specialises mostly in housing historical British-made powerful military hardware in immaculate conditions, polished and rarely damaged in any battlefields, comprises a stark antithesis. An antithesis of displaying a foreign civilian piece shaped by the act of war in an almost full setting of national powerful tools of war. A justification by the Imperial War Museum is that the car draws a powerful image about the unprecedented lethal effects of modern conflicts on civilians around the world. The Director of the Museum has stated that ‘the wreckage of a car caught up in a street bomb is an example of one of the many faces of modern war, where civilians are now often seen as a front-line target’.<sup>129</sup>

Nonetheless, ‘the wreckage of a car caught up in a street bomb’ that targeted civilians in Al Mutanabbi Street is not a new phenomenon and has several substantial precedents in the United Kingdom and elsewhere around the world. For example, *London nail bombings* in April 1999,<sup>130</sup> the notorious *7 July London bombings* in 2005,<sup>131</sup> *1996 IRA bomb in Manchester*,<sup>132</sup> and sadly many more attacks occurred across the United Kingdom decades prior to the tragedy of Al Mutanabbi Street. The majority of which exceeded Al Mutanabbi Street in terms of the scale of destruction, the death toll, and the number of wreckages which could have been displayed in the Museum. Thus, why import a destroyed car from Baghdad and wait until AD 2010? Does a British-made vehicle, the iconic London Bus for example, caught up in a British street bomb to be exhibited next to British-made military hardware in a British museum not suffice?

It is without doubt that exhibiting a British wreckage would not be in line with the British imperial narrative. Blocking certain narratives and allowing others are crucial for culture and imperialism as Edward Said argues:

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<sup>128</sup> *Baghdad, March 5th 2007*.

<sup>129</sup> BBC, *Iraqi Bombed Car on Show at Imperial War Museum North*.

<sup>130</sup> BBC, *London Nail Bombings: 'I Was Showered in Blood'*, BBC News, (17 April 2019) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-47953196/london-nail-bombings-i-was-showered-in-blood>> [Accessed 11 December 2019].

<sup>131</sup> BBC, *7 July London Bombings: What Happened That Day?*, BBC News, (3 July 2015) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33253598>> [Accessed 25 March 2018].

<sup>132</sup> BBC, *Footage of 1996 IRA Bomb in Manchester*, BBC News, (13 Jun 2016) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-england-merseyside-36485247/footage-of-1996-ira-bomb-in-manchester>> [Accessed 22 July 2017].



nations themselves *are* narrations. The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them.<sup>133</sup>

That leads the debate back to emphasise that heritage and heritage making processes are far from being neutral, heritage is an extremely politicized field and has significant implications on identity. It is about identity politics, it is the identity of Baghdad and its streets that should be associated with terror. It is about sending a strong message that terror is manufactured and affects civilians far away from the United Kingdom and in the Middle East in particular. Frederick Deknatel comments that:

A place like the Imperial War Museum operates somewhere between memorial and exhibition; its objective is not jingoism, but not pacifism either. National pride is represented in the weapons and artifacts of the world wars, especially those from the Battle of Britain. In such an environment, “Baghdad, 5 March 2007” is a warning against extending patriotism to the present.<sup>134</sup>

He adds that the car is a product ‘of the continued hubris of war, dressed up by “democracy” and “food and medicines and supplies and freedom”, as George W. Bush said three months before invasion. Iraqis have paid for it all’.<sup>135</sup>



Figure 6.36: A small digital screen displays photos of Al Mutanabbi Street.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), p. xiii.

<sup>134</sup> Deknatel, *Baghdad Chassis*.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> Taken by the author.

Despite the impact on the identity of the city, the positive point of exhibiting the car in Museum is that the memory of those who lost their lives will last and the story of Al Mutanabbi Street will continue to be told internationally.

### **Conclusion**

Celebrated locally for its book trade, Al Mutanabbi Street is significant in terms of its urban heritage, architecturally as a prominent street in the historic heart of the city, and culturally as the setting for an exchange of knowledge and ideas.

This chapter exemplified the significant role of heritage in times of conflict: the destruction and reconstruction of Al Mutanabbi Street was a result of a fierce battle between the terrorists on one side and the Iraqi government and American invaders on the other. For the former, it was about proving the weakness of the Iraqi government and its apparent inability to protect Baghdadi people, while the latter deployed heritage to send a clear message of defeating international terror and securing stability in Baghdad.

Even though the cultural and physical formation of the street was a result of modernity (eclectic modern buildings accommodating bookshops to satisfy the requirements of introducing a new modern educational system), by empty use of Islamic symbols *Al Mutanabi Street Development Project* has shifted the identity of the place from the realm of modernity to that of an Islamic *suyq*. In addition to solely focusing on the physicality of the place and disregarding its cultural practices, the project exposed the chronic malpractices in both The Municipality of Baghdad and The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in terms of feeble mapping and recording.

Non-officially recognized, the intangible heritage of Al Mutanabbi Street shows the need to amend *the Iraqi Law Number 55 in 2002 for the Antiquities and Heritage* and protect such heritage. Currently, it is the Baghdadi intellectuals who maintain it, albeit with partial transformation, activating civic protest against the Iraqi government.

Internationally, to protest against the never ending theatre of conflict, two new heritages have been made from the destroyed Street. Beau Beausoleil's coalition and its cultural activities have relied on the power of poetry and arts. While, Jeremy Deller's wreckage has depended on the remains of the terrorist attack.

It is obvious from exhibiting the wreckage in the Imperial War Museum in London that the narrative of the nation dictates what heritage should be made and exhibited in its museums. The next chapter examines the transformation and national heritage making of Al Rashid Street.

## Chapter 7

### **Al Rashid Street: Destroying Old Heritage, Constructing New Heritage**

Since its construction as the first street in Baghdad to adopt western urban planning principles, Al Rashid Street has been strongly associated with the political, economic, and social life of the city. This association has gradually shifted the perception of the street as an agent of destruction of the city's traditional fabric to its perception as the cardinal heritage street of Baghdad. This chapter demonstrates the construction of Al Rashid Street and the emergence of its characteristics, and explores the way in which the heritage meaning of the place has dramatically changed since its origins. The chapter presents the political employment of the street by various regimes and addresses the conflict, which was intensified by this employment, amongst heritage agencies in Baghdad. The latter sections of the chapter demonstrate the consequences of excluding the street from the national narrative after AD 2003 on the architectural heritage of the place and examines the voluntary initiatives to mitigate that exclusion.

#### **Al Rashid Street: its construction and characteristics**

The notion of constructing a modern street in Baghdad extends back to the Ottoman General Nazim Pasha, who was the *Wali* of the city, and supervised its design in AD 1910. His aim was to connect the northern part (Bab al-Muadham Gate also known as Sultan's Gate) of the Rusafa historic core with its southern part (Bab al Sharqi Gate). The work of this project was, however, suspended immediately owing to a public protest against its construction by a substantial number of Baghdadi people who were concerned that the Ottoman authority would not compensate them fairly for the inevitable demolition of their houses. In addition, the street was proposed to run through part of the British consulate in Baghdad, which ignited a strong reaction from the British Empire.<sup>1</sup>

In AD 1916 in the midst of the First World War, Khalil Pasha, Commander of the Ottoman 6<sup>th</sup> Division and the successor to Nazim Pasha, took the opportunity to

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<sup>1</sup> Fouad Kazanji, 'Between Authenticity and Pride ', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basesm Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 123-32 (p. 126).

implement the street's planned construction, reaping the benefit of a sudden change in local and international political circumstances arising from the War where demonstration rights had been restricted in Baghdad, and where both the Ottoman and the British empires were engaged with each other in military conflict.<sup>2</sup>

The creation of the street did not respond to local urban requirements, but was to facilitate the mobility of troops and maintain military inter-communication inside the city.<sup>3</sup> Instead of deploying military personnel and machinery around the city with quagmire conditions in winter and dusty desert terrains in summer, it became faster for the Ottoman troops in the citadel north of the city to use the route towards Basra in the south where battles with the British were taking place.<sup>4</sup>

Straightness was the main character of its initial design, but engineers on the ground were under the influence of powerful Baghdadi families and some foreign diplomats who endeavoured to make the route run past, rather than through, their houses. Thus, a significant number of poorer families' houses were demolished and the street bends in several places,<sup>5</sup> testament to the ways in which social hierarchies can affect the evolution of a place.



Figure 7.01: Bend in Al Rashid Street to run past some houses.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Abdul Al Karim Allaf, *The Old Baghdad*. ed. by Ibrahim Allowaath. 2nd edn (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 1999), pp. 257-58.

<sup>3</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), CO 730/133/9: Secretariat of the Council of Ministers to H.E. the Minister of Justice (Baghdad: 16 June 1926).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Coke, *Baghdad, the City of Peace* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1927), p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> Abbas Baghdadi, *Baghdad in the Twenties*. ed. by Abdul Rahman Munif. Second edn (Beirut: Arab Institution for Studies and Publishing, 1999), p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> *The Mesopotamian Campaign, 1916-1918 (Q 25242)*, Imperial War Museums, (1917) <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205266677>> [Accessed 25 March 2017].

The significance of social structures on the evolution of the street is also evident when focusing on the way in which the Street was constructed. It ‘was carried out in the high-handed manner to be expected from the Turkish authorities in war time’,<sup>7</sup> and two long ropes were laid on the buildings’ roofs with the area between them constituting what needed to be demolished. Ali Wardi testified that when the rope was over any house, it had an immediate catastrophic impact on its occupants, mourning was heard and the head of the family ran desperately to find any assistance to enable him to shift the rope away from his house in return for payment and usually by bribing officials (foremen and engineers). The ropes were thus moved from house to house towards the final destination according to the amount of the bribery or the political clout of the head of household.<sup>8</sup>

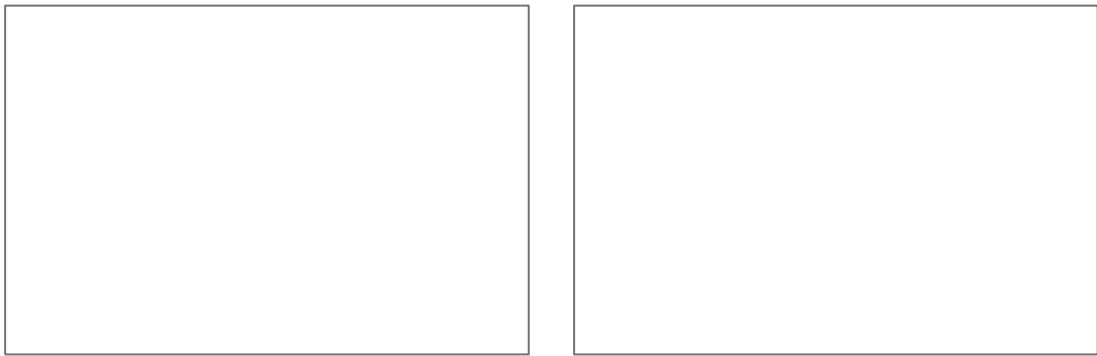


Figure 7.02-7.03 Total and partial demolition of Baghdadi houses as a consequence of opening Al Rashid Street.<sup>9-10</sup>

A second obstacle hindered the straightness of the street was represented by those properties owned by *Awqaf*. Religious leaders were vociferous opponents of demolishing *waqf* properties generally and the *waqf Suq* attached to the Haidar Khana Mosque in particular, which the street would cut through. However, after the impossibility of convincing the religious leaders, the Ottoman authority quietly demolished the *Suq* at night under the cloak of darkness, hiring a demolition gang, and by the following morning the street’s straightness in front of the mosque became *de facto*.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), CO 730/167/4: Land at Baghdad, Claim by Lynch Brothers (London: 1931).

<sup>8</sup> Ali Wardi, *Social Aspects of Iraqi Modern History*. Vol. 4 (Baghdad: University of Baghdad, 1974), p. 304.

<sup>9</sup> *Photograph (Q 25729)*, Imperial War Museums, (1917)  
<<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205267159>> [Accessed 25 March 2017].

<sup>10</sup> *Photograph (Q 24194)*, Imperial War Museums, (1917)  
<<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205264493>> [Accessed 25 March 2017].

<sup>11</sup> Coke, p. 289.

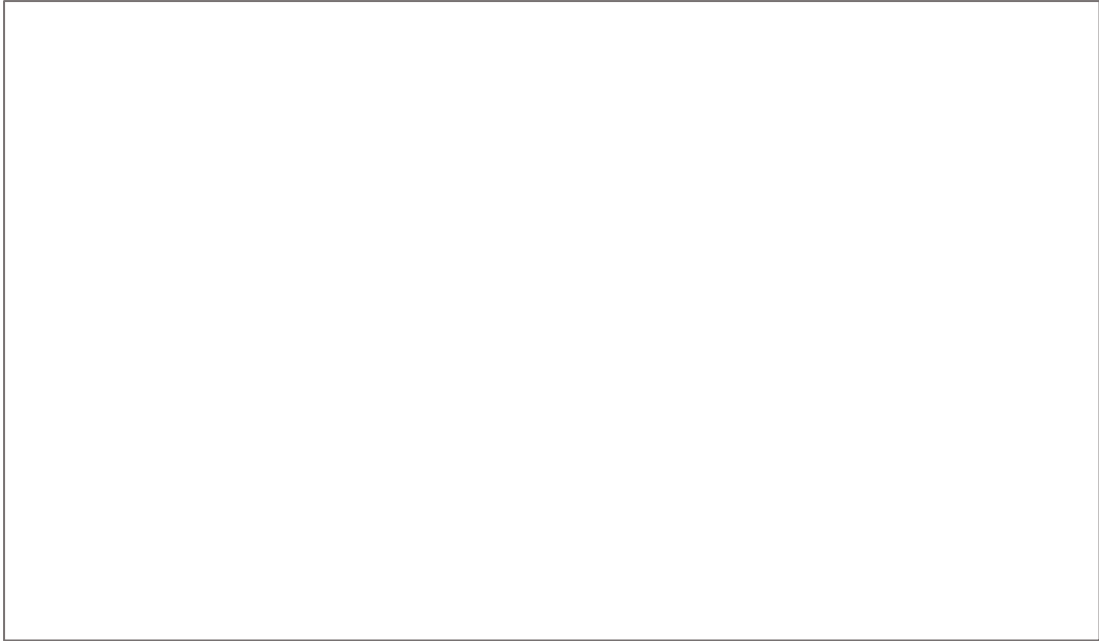


Figure 7.04: The destruction of Haidar Khana Mosque's suq as a result of opening Al Rashid Street.<sup>12</sup>

Despite being half-finished and half-rubble,<sup>13</sup> the street was officially opened by Khalil Pasha on 23 July 1916. It then ran from Bab al-Muadham Gate to Al Sinek *mahalla*<sup>14</sup> and was named Khalil Jada City after Khalil Pasha to commemorate him as the victorious Ottoman military commander who had defeated the British forces in Kut, south of Baghdad.<sup>15</sup> James Morris, a British historian, describes the defeat and sudden surrendered of British troops on 29 April 1916 in Kut as 'the most abject capitulation in Britain's military history'.<sup>16</sup>

Nonetheless, this was a short-lived celebration, as Baghdad was captured by the British on 11 March 1917.<sup>17</sup> Ironically, instead of serving and commemorating the Ottomans, the street facilitated the ingress of British troops into the city and their subsequent movements, providing a stage by which this new colonizer could depict a powerful image of the greatness of their Empire and its formidable army. This image

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<sup>12</sup> *The Mesopotamian Campaign, 1916-1918 (Q 25244)*, Imperial War Museums, (1917) <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205266679>> [Accessed 15 April 2017].

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950: A Political, Social and Economic History* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> Abdul Jabbar Al-Samurai, 'Al Rashid Street, Its History and Some of Its Heritage', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basesm Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 31-60 (p.32).

<sup>15</sup> Edmund Candler, *The Long Road to Baghdad*. Vol. 2 (London: Cassel and Company, Ltd, 1919), p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Alan Woods, *The First World War – a Marxist Analysis of the Great Slaughter*. Kindle Edition edn (London: Wellred Books, 2019).

<sup>17</sup> Edmund A. Ghareeb, and Beth Dougherty, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004), p. xix.

was carefully designed to influence Baghdadis and to deliver the message of the Ottomans' defeat with the British General Sir Stanley Maude entering the city on horseback through the Bab al-Muadham Gate, followed by marching troops.<sup>18</sup>



Figure 7.05: The Imperial War Museum has labelled the photo that depicts the entry of the British to Baghdad via Bab al-Muadham Gate as 'The 1/4th Hampshire Regiment make their ceremonial entry into Baghdad watched by natives lining the street'.<sup>19</sup>

The British subsequently completed the street in AD 1917 to its initial plan by extending it to the Bab al Sharqi Gate. Becoming known as the New Street,<sup>20</sup> this extension made the length of the development approximately 3,120m and its width around 12m.<sup>21</sup> Its paving was achieved in two stages: the first exploiting prisoners who had been sentenced to hard labour immediately after the capture of the city.<sup>22</sup> The second, in 1926 when the city's municipality decided to pave the street with asphalt

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<sup>18</sup> Salem Al-Alusi, *Al Rashid Street in the Iraqi Memory* (Baghdad: Dar Mesopotamia, 2013), p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> *Photograph (Q 24168)*, Imperial War Museums, (1917) <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205091113>> [Accessed 16 April 2017].

<sup>20</sup> Al-Samurai, pp. 31-60 (p. 32).

<sup>21</sup> Stefano Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of Historical Centre of Baghdad City: Synthesis Report', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1984), p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Aziz Al-Hajjia, 'Some of the Leisure Places on Al Rashid Street in the Past', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basem Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 22-30. (p. 22).



and allocated funds and resources to do so.<sup>23</sup> It is important to note that road works extended only to the treatment of the street itself and not to the buildings that lined it.

The street generally and Bab al-Muadham Gate in particular continued to work as a British ceremonial stage with a weekly parade of the British army taking place there until the end of the 1920s. This weekly ceremony began with the advancement of Cavalry, followed by the marching of Infantry, all of whom were preceded by musicians from the military band.<sup>24</sup> Sadly, in order to facilitate the traffic of extra troops, the British demolished the Bab al-Muadham Gate to widen the street in AD 1925.<sup>25</sup> To maintain this Imperial aggrandizement and avoid disruption to military ceremonies, the British also took the first urban decision pertaining to the street's accessibility. This related specifically to access the city's general brothel, which as a consequence of the new street's alignment had become directly accessible from it. Thus, the British blocked its entrance and permitted access only from the other side,<sup>26</sup> disrupting an unwritten code of social traditions in the city.

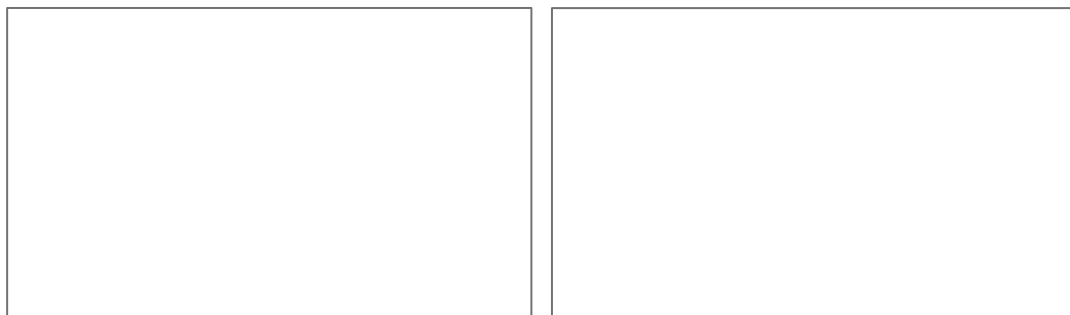


Figure 7.06-7.07: Al Rashid Street as a ceremonial stage for the British Army.<sup>27-28</sup>

The significant outcome of constructing Al Rashid Street was the removal of the historic fabric of the city dating as far back as the Abbasid period. John Gulick commented that 'the attendant demolition was, at the time, considered to be an outright atrocity'.<sup>29</sup> Mohammed Makia, a pioneering Iraqi architect, attributed such atrocious outcomes to the fact that engineers had designed many streets in Baghdad historic

<sup>23</sup> Fakhri Al-Zubaidi, *Baghdad from 1900 to 1934*. Vol. 1 (Baghdad: Dar Alharia for printing 1990), pp. 251-252.

<sup>24</sup> Baghdadi, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> Amin Mumayiz, *Baghdad as I Knew It* (Baghdad: Dar Afac Arabia for Journalism and Publishing 1985), pp. 112-113.

<sup>26</sup> Jamal Haider, *Baghdad in the Modernity of Sixties* 2nd edn (Bruxelles: Alca Books, 2017), p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> 'New Street, Baghdad', (Baghdad: J.S. Hoory Baghdad).

<sup>28</sup> From the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

<sup>29</sup> John Gulick, 'Baghdad: Portrait of a City IIM Physical and Cultural Change', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 33:4 (1967), 246-55 (p. 253).

centre by using surgical methods. Those surgeon-engineers knew straightness as a sole principle when opening or widening a street, and therefore could not avoid the demolition of irreplaceable historical monuments. The first time this was practiced was on Al Rashid Street; splitting open the historic fabric led to the destruction of the organic fabric of the city. The historic core endured a fatal surgery, depriving its neighbourhoods from organic access to the river. Makia argues that instead of constructing streets in a parallel way to the Tiger River, the Street should have been constructed perpendicular to the river to allow continuity between the neighbourhoods and the river.<sup>30</sup>

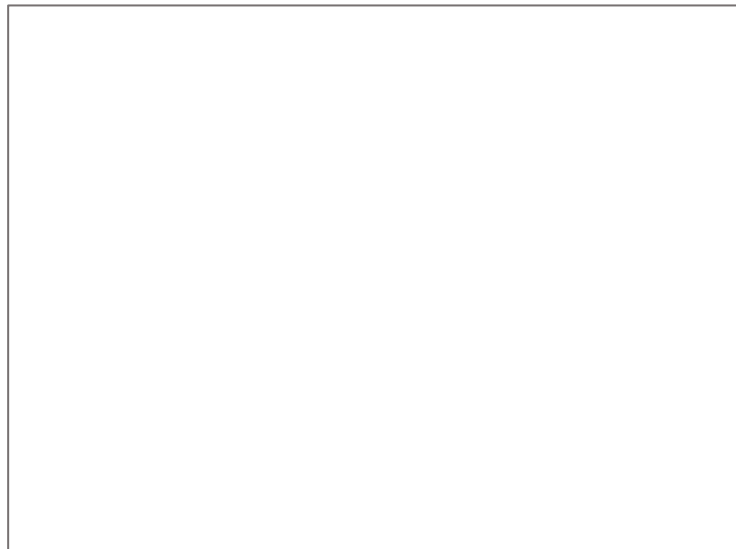


Figure 7.08-7.09: Aerial photo shows Al Rashid Street as a wide scar along the pre-modern organic fabric of Baghdad. <sup>31-32</sup>

Moreover, the outcomes for many Baghdadis meant not only losing their properties, but enduring extreme financial hardship which also led to the street being neglected

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<sup>30</sup> Mohammed Makia, 'Baghdadi Architecture', in *Baghdad*, ed. by Mohammed Makia (London: Alwarrak Publishing Ltd., 2009), pp. 225-98 (p.270).

<sup>31</sup> From the archives of the municipality of Baghdad.

<sup>32</sup> Adopted from The National Archives of the UK (TNA), WO 302/550: City of Baghdad Mosaic of Air Photographs (1917).

until the mid-1920s.<sup>33</sup> This was because no one was compensated for his or her full or partially demolished property owing to the change of colonizer. Prior to the construction of the street, it had been agreed between the Ottoman authority and the owners that each would receive an advanced one year's rental payment for their properties and a full compensation for their loss to be settled by arbitration after the First World War.<sup>34</sup> However, after the War, the Municipality of Baghdad 'claimed that they were not responsible for the payment or any compensation, owing to the fact that they themselves did not order the opening of the Street'.<sup>35</sup> It was not only Baghdadis who did not receive compensation, but British companies operating in the city as well. Lynch Brothers sought the assistance of the British Colonial Office 'stating the area of the part of the property which was annexed to the street upon its opening'.<sup>36</sup> Yet, the Colonial Office responded that:

no amount of diplomatic pressure on our part exercised upon the Iraq Government is going to extract any appreciable compensation for Messrs. Lynch Brother from the bankrupt Baghdad Municipality.<sup>37</sup>

Despite this abject unfairness, Baghdadis gradually started to repair their old shops and construct new buildings and modern stores alongside the street. Thus, by the end of 1930s, the ruinous street was transformed as a commercial street with two distinct architectural styles emerging along its length. Both were designed and executed without the intervention of architects in the Western mould, but instead erected, as was the norm in the Islamic cities, by senior teachers of traditional vernacular architecture called *Usta*, or *Ustawat* in its plural form.<sup>38</sup>

The first style was represented by employing traditional methods and details, especially in elevations, in terms of building materials, ornamentation, and the overall shape of windows and their components. The second was a hybrid style synthesizing eclectic foreign styles and local details. The reason for the emergence of this

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<sup>33</sup> Osama Nasser Al Naqshbandi, 'Historical View at Al Rashid Street ', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basesm Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 9-21 (p. 11).

<sup>34</sup> Wardi, p. 303.

<sup>35</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), CO 730/133/9: Secretariat of the Council of Ministers to H. E. the Minister of Justice (Baghdad: 16 June 1926).

<sup>36</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), CO 730/156/4: Secretariat of the Council of Ministers to the Legal Secretary to H. E. The High Commissioner for Iraq, Baghdad (Baghdad: 24 February 1930).

<sup>37</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA), CO 730/167/4: Land at Baghdad, Claim by Lynch Brothers (London: 1931).

<sup>38</sup> Jalal al-Hanafí, *Baghdadi Industries and Craftsmanship* 2nd edn (Baghdad: Dar Mesopotamia Press, 2013), p. 69.

unfamiliar style was that Baghdadi society came under the direct influence of westernization. Western magazines and catalogues became accessible and available for purchase among Baghdadis generally and their merchants in particular, who appointed *Ustawat* to imitate them. The *Ustawat* started to marry Western styles, chiefly Art Nouveau and Art Décor, with their traditional techniques, producing a style resembling a synthesis of both.<sup>39-40</sup>

Nevertheless, the traditional and the hybrid were harmonized by the existence of a ground floor colonnaded walkway, approximately 3.5 metres wide and 5 metres high, alongside the majority of the street.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, similar to their adjacent buildings, each set of columns is different from the next in terms of height, shape and diameter, yet produces a simple harmony on the street.<sup>42</sup> Ali Al-Haidary argues that a fine panorama is formed by the harmonious alignment of building colonnades on both sides of Al Rashid Street, which denotes vividly a chapter of evolution of architectural style in the historic core at the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>43</sup>

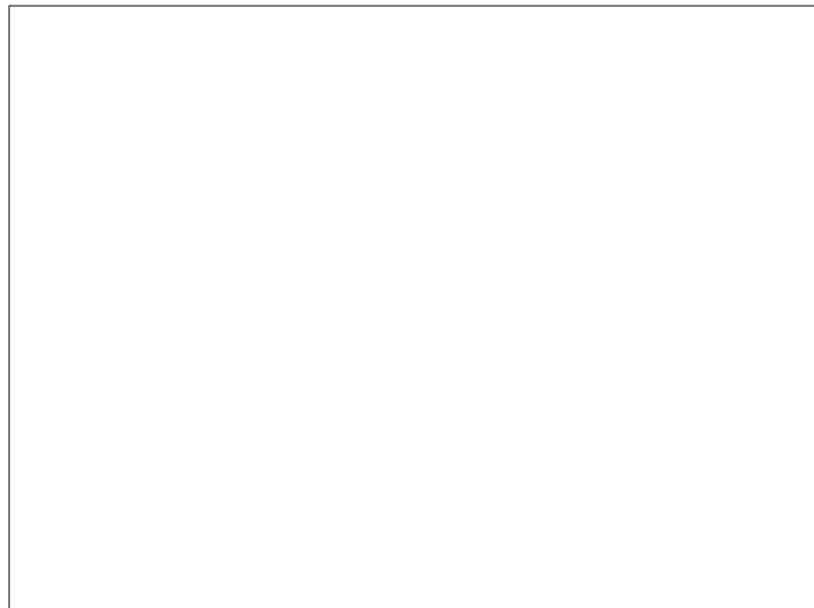


Figure 7.10: The colonnade unifies the buildings in Al Rashid Street.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Khaled Al-Sultany, *Architectural Modernity in Baghdad: Formative Years* (Amman: Adib Books, 2014), p. 88.

<sup>40</sup> Senior Iraqi Architect, 'Al Rashid Street', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2015).

<sup>41</sup> Bianca and others, 'Synthesis Report', p. 25.

<sup>42</sup> Desmond Stewart, and John Haylock, *New Babylon: A Portrait of Iraq* (London: Collins, 1956), p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Ali Al-Haidary, 'Vanishing Point: The Abatement of Tradition and New Architectural Development in Baghdad's Historic Centers over the Past Century', *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 2 (2009), 38-66, (p. 53).

<sup>44</sup> American Colony (Jerusalem) - Photo Department - photographer, *Iraq. (Mesopotamia). Baghdad. Views, Street Scenes, and Types. From Haidar Khana Mosque Looking N. Over New Street*, Library of

Since it was not part of the building regulations of the Street until AD 1934, the notion of establishing a continuous colonnade is highly likely to have emerged as a response to the Baghdadi harsh environment; it offers pedestrians shade from the searing heat and shelter from rain during the different seasons of the year.<sup>45</sup> This solution Ihsan Fethi attributes to three different traditional practices, is deeply rooted in the architectural vocabulary of the region. Fethi argues that a courtyard surrounded by a colonnade (gallery, arcade) has been a common feature in Iraqi traditional architecture since the Abbasid period, and such colonnades can still be found surrounding courtyards of mosques and on the first floor of spacious houses. In addition, erecting external columns was common practice in wider alleyways, especially to support gigantic *shanasheel*.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, Lynch House, one of the oldest buildings in the Street, has a colonnade and it is highly likely that Baghdadis *Ustawat* emulated it when it had been proved to be more effective in providing shade than the traditional *shanasheel* in a wider street setting.<sup>47</sup>

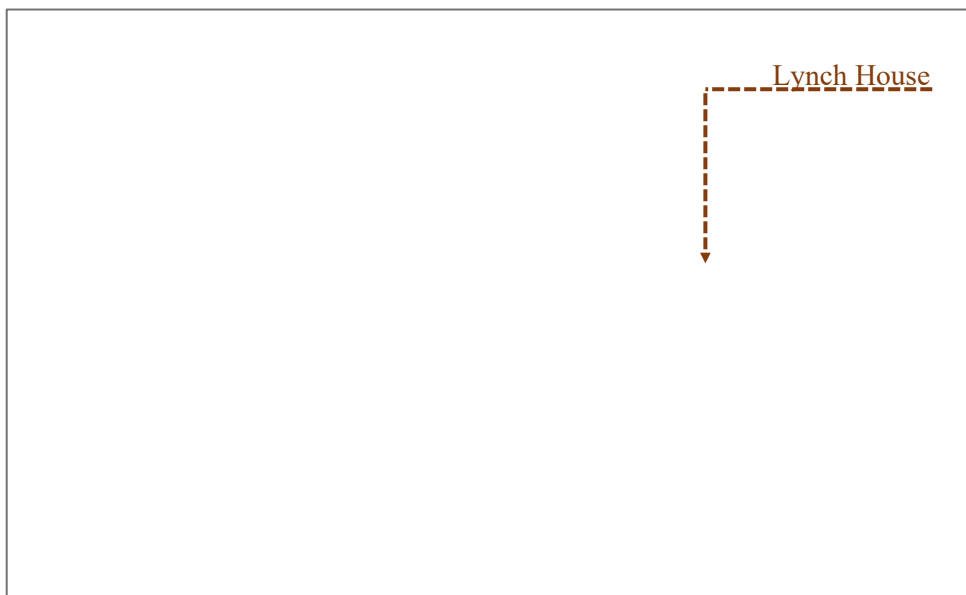


Figure 7.11: Lynch House is the first building in AL Rashid Street to be designed with a colonnade.<sup>48</sup>

Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, (1932) <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/matpc.15973/>> [Accessed 12 April 2017].

<sup>45</sup> Al-Haidary, pp. 38-66, (p. 53).

<sup>46</sup> Oxford Dictionary of Architecture defines *shanasheel* as 'Timber lattice-work (often intricate, geometrical, and beautiful) in Islamic architecture, once common in the Ottoman Empire: the term is usually applied to a projecting balcony or bay protected by such a screen so that those inside can see without being seen'.

<sup>47</sup> Ihsan Fethi, 'Al Rashid Street: An Exciting Architectural Anecdote', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basesm Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 82-97 (pp. 89-91).

<sup>48</sup> Alaa Mohsin, Iraqi social media.

Thus, when its features became distinguished by the end of 1930s, the street started to gain special status among Baghdadi residents. It was transformed to become the city's focal point where it was very challenging for spectators to find a place to stand during Royal ceremonies or visits of foreign delegates; people from both Baghdad and other provinces gathered in the street during such occasions.<sup>49</sup>

More significantly, Al Rashid Street was the gate through which Baghdad entered the modern era;<sup>50</sup> the street was transmuted from being born immaturely in ruinous conditions to being the agent of modernity in Baghdad and to be a focus of cultural and material exchange between Baghdadi traditions and Western modernity. This new status was not acquired principally from being a path splitting open the old fabric to accommodate vehicles and military engines, but from the juxtaposition of its old (shops and cafes) and modern (stores and cinemas). In the Street, Baghdadis were able to purchase traditional Baghdadi commodities and international ones, especially modern Western-made furniture, fabrics, fashions, and domestic appliances.<sup>51</sup> This led the street to be strongly associated with the commercial and social life of Baghdad through its vibrancy, leisure, strolling, and shopping.

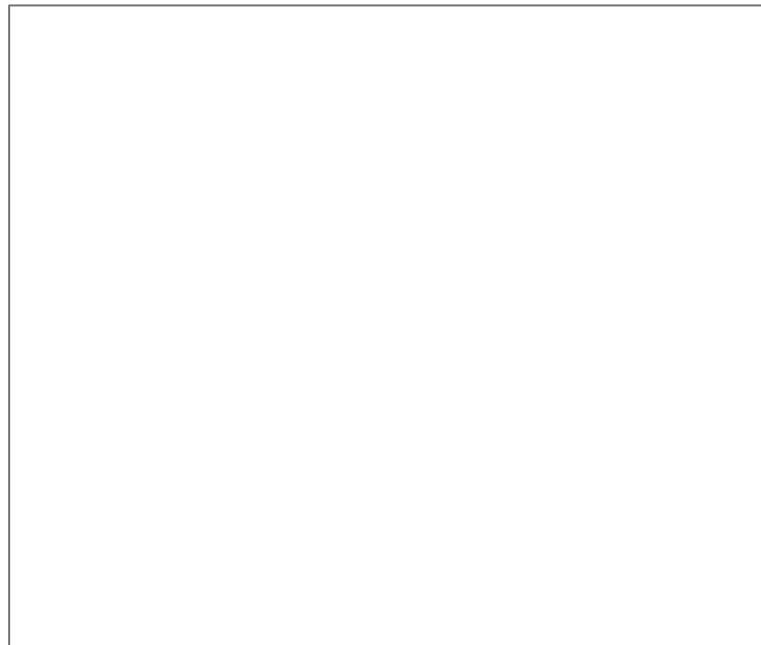


Figure 7.12: Al Rashid Street as the agent of Modernity in Baghdad.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Baghdadi, p. 262.

<sup>50</sup> Fouad Kazanji, pp. 123-32 (p. 125).

<sup>51</sup> Haider, p. 166.

<sup>52</sup> Baghdadi social media.

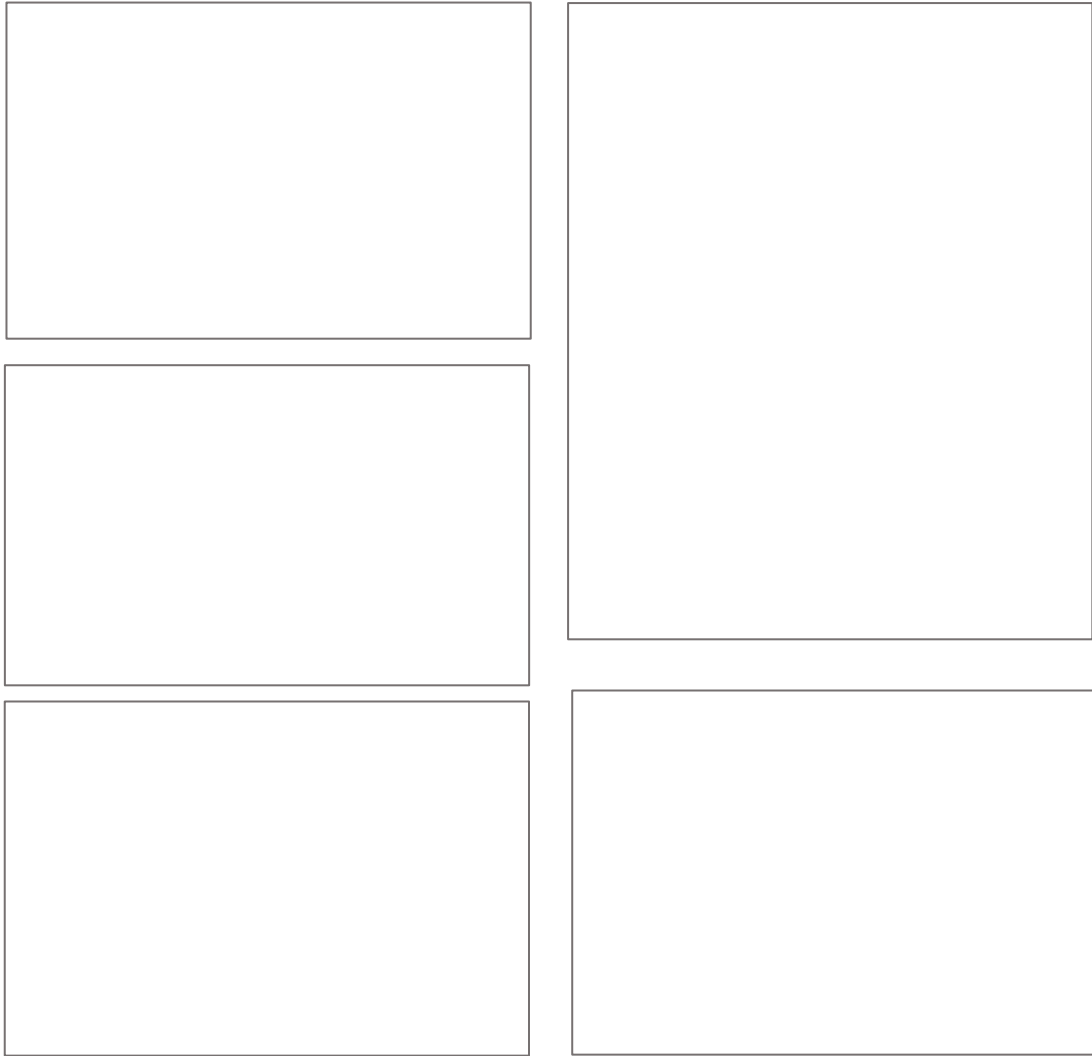


Figure 7.13-7.17: Al Rashd Street as a melting pot of old and new.<sup>53</sup>

It is undeniable that the street can be seen as an alien object forcibly inserted within the pre-modern Baghdad city. Stefano Bianca argues that the modern urban system in the city was initiated by the construction of Al Rashid Street, and he describes the street as ‘a colonnaded vehicular avenue of Mediterranean style cut through the historic fabric’.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, being considered as an agent of modernity links the street to the deeply rooted cultural practice of exchange between the Orient and the Occident. It is not about the newness of Baghdad being exposed to the influence of non-Muslim Western cultures, but it is about the high speed in which such exchange occurred that alienated the street from its surrounding urban fabric. Chris Abel reminds

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<sup>53</sup> Baghdadi social media.

<sup>54</sup> Stefano Bianca, 'Designing Compatibility between New Projects and the Local Urban Tradition', in *Continuity and Change: Design Strategies for Large-Scale Urban Development*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevckenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1984), pp. 21-34 (p. 29).

us that ‘the pace of change is new, but the process of cultural exchange is as old as Islam itself.’<sup>55</sup>

### **The Street and Arab nationalists**

This new positive modern status for the street could not escape without being targeted by nascent Arab nationalism in Baghdad. Obliterating the remains of the Ottoman era and purifying the Arabic language from the linguistic effects of that era were of paramount importance to Arab nationalists, and their aims were to restore the Arab identity of Harun al-Rashid’s city. For this reason, renaming the Street became a priority for the municipality of Baghdad.<sup>56</sup>

In 1932, a committee was formed under the instructions of the Mayor of Baghdad, Arshad Alomari, to examine the names of the capital’s main streets and alleyways, and to rename them after the most significant Arab historic junctures or great Arabs and their heroes. The committee’s justification for selecting Al Rashid as a new name for the street was that the city’s legacy during the reign of Harun al-Rashid was in harmony and in line with the modernity of the city engendered by a modern Arab renaissance.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, it is a clear employment of the ethnic myths of origins and descent generally and the ‘Myth of Regeneration, or *How to Restore the Golden Age and Renew Our Community as “in the Days of Old”*’<sup>58</sup> in particular.<sup>59</sup>

To maintain the new identity of the street, in AD 1937 the municipality reviewed which professions should be practised within the street and which commodities could be sold. According to the municipality, certain commercial activities were incongruous with the street’s status and therefore prohibited, including shops for selling groceries,

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<sup>55</sup> Chris Abel, 'Model and Metaphor in the Design of New Building Types in Saudi Arabia', in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies: A Symposium Held by the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 6-8, 1987*, ed. by Margaret Ševčenko (Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1988), pp. 169-84 (p. 169).

<sup>56</sup> Yassin Al nasir, *Al Rashid Street: The City’s Eye and the Text’s Versifier* (Damascus: Al Mada Publishing Company, 2003), pp. 50, 129.

<sup>57</sup> Baghdadi, pp. 296, 304-05.

<sup>58</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'National Identity and Myths of Ethnic Descent', in *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, ed. by Anthony D. Smith (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 57-95 (p. 67).

<sup>59</sup> This practice reached its extreme during the Ba'ath era when the Municipality of Baghdad prohibited any non-Arabic name for naming the shops in the street.



woods and coals, smithies, and kebab stalls; and in AD 1945 butcheries were added to the list.<sup>60</sup>

However, even though the street was starting to emerge as the symbol of modernity in Baghdad, its aesthetic value was still considered far behind those streets in Western cities. Amin Rihani, a Lebanese American writer, described the street after visiting the city in AD 1932 as a long street with modern stores, cinemas, cafes and old shops, but it is astonishingly quite similar to a street in a European village.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, further modernization of the street was required to restore the city of Harun al-Rashid its lost legacy in order to translate nationalists' aspiration. Such a modernization was, of course, in conflict with saving the architectural heritage of the city as represented by Al-Mirjaniya madrasa.

### **Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya and Al Rashid Street**

Al-Mirjaniya madrasa is rare example of Islamic architecture where not only were the name of its founder, the date of construction and the function of the building elaborately carved on bricks, but the whole *waqfiya* of the building as well.<sup>62</sup> It was built by Mirjan, who was the governor of Baghdad and where its name derived from, in AD 1357<sup>63</sup> after the Mongols' invasion of Baghdad and during their second dynasty, the Jalairid AD 1338-1411.<sup>64</sup> Teaching two Islamic doctrines, Shafi'i and Hanafi, was its function,<sup>65</sup> but it was used as a mosque as well when Baghdadis from nearby *suqs* used it as a place of prayers and therefore became known as Al-Mirjaniya madrasa mosque.<sup>66</sup>

Besides being an ancient madrasa, the significance of Al-Mirjaniya stems from once being one of the largest *waqf* madrasas in the Islamic world, with a substantial revenue

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<sup>60</sup> Adel Al-Aeradai, 'Opinions in the Birth of Al Rashid Street ', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basesm Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 140-52 (p. 150).

<sup>61</sup> Al-Zubaidi, p. 316.

<sup>62</sup> Mahmoud Al-Aluis, *The History and the Remains of Mosques in Baghdad* (Baghdad: Dar Al-Salam Printing, 1927), pp. 65-72.

<sup>63</sup> As recorded in the inscriptions

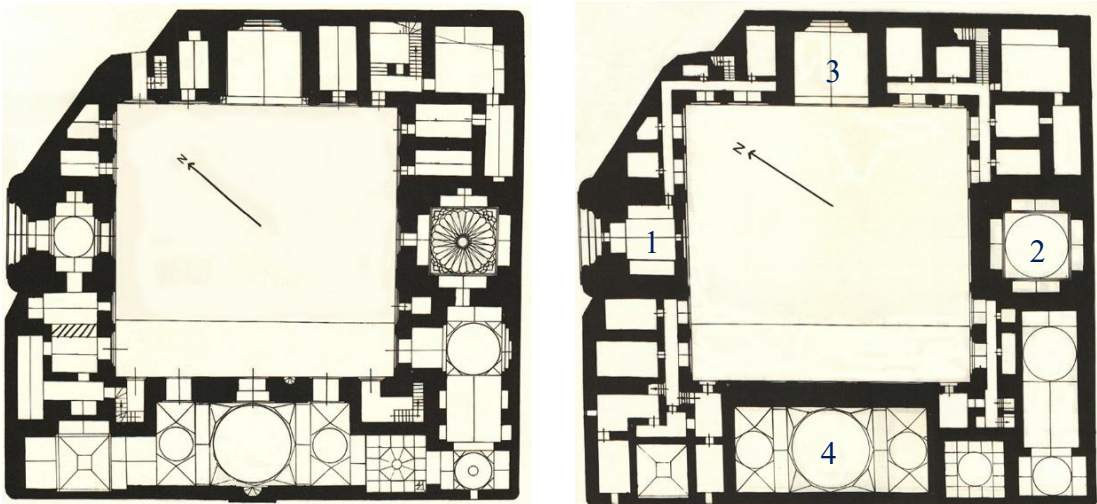
<sup>64</sup> Ahmed Sousa, *Atlas Baghdad* (Baghdad: The General Directorate of survey 1952), p.30.

<sup>65</sup> Mustafa Jawad, and Ahmed Susa, *Baghdad Map Index* (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy of Sciences press, 1958), p. 219

<sup>66</sup> Imad Abd al-Salam Rauf, *Maalim Baghdad Fi Al-Qurun Al-Muta Akhkhirah: Fi Daw Al-Waqfiyat Wa-Al-I Lamat Wa-Al-Hujaj Al-Shar Iyah Al-Mahfuzah Fi Arshif Wizarat Al-Awqaf Bi-Baghdad* (Baghdad: Bayt al-Hikmah, 2000), p. 149.

from 104 shops, 13 oil presses, 7.5 khans, 13 lands (including 2 villages) and 7 groves allocated to sponsor its scholars, teachers, and students.<sup>67</sup>

The madrasa had almost a square plan, 39.2 by 36.8 m, and consisted of two floors. It is widely accepted that the cut in the north-western part of the square was to accommodate the entrance to an existing adjacent suq,<sup>68</sup> known as *suq al-Thalataha* at the time of construction.<sup>69</sup> It comprised four significant components: a minaret and a gate with an arched entrance leading to almost a square courtyard, 21 by 20.1 m, through a valuated passage; the tomb of Mirjan with a unique large dome erected over it, on the opposite side of the courtyard and in alignment with the entrance; an *iwan* in the north-eastern side; and a *musalla* surmounted by three domes occupying the south-western side.<sup>70</sup>



1. Minaret and a gate. 2. The dome erected over the tomb of Mirjan.
3. The *iwan*. 4. *Musalla*.

Left: Figure 7.18: Ground Floor Plan of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya.

Right: Figure 7.19: First Floor Plan of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Louis Massignon, *Mission En Mesopotamie (1907-1908)* (Le Caire Imprimerie De L'Institut Francais D'Archeologie Orientale 1912), p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Nasir Al-Naqshabandi, 'The Mirjaniya Madrasa ', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq*, 2 (1946), 33-54 (p. 38).

<sup>69</sup> Jawad and Susa, p. 203

<sup>70</sup> Tariq Jawad Al Janabi, *Studies in Mediaeval Iraqi Architecture* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Information, State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, 1982), p. 120.

<sup>71</sup> Adopted from the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

Left: Figure 7.20: The north eastern elevation of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya.<sup>72</sup>

Right: Figure 7.21: The interior elevation of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya's gate.<sup>73</sup>

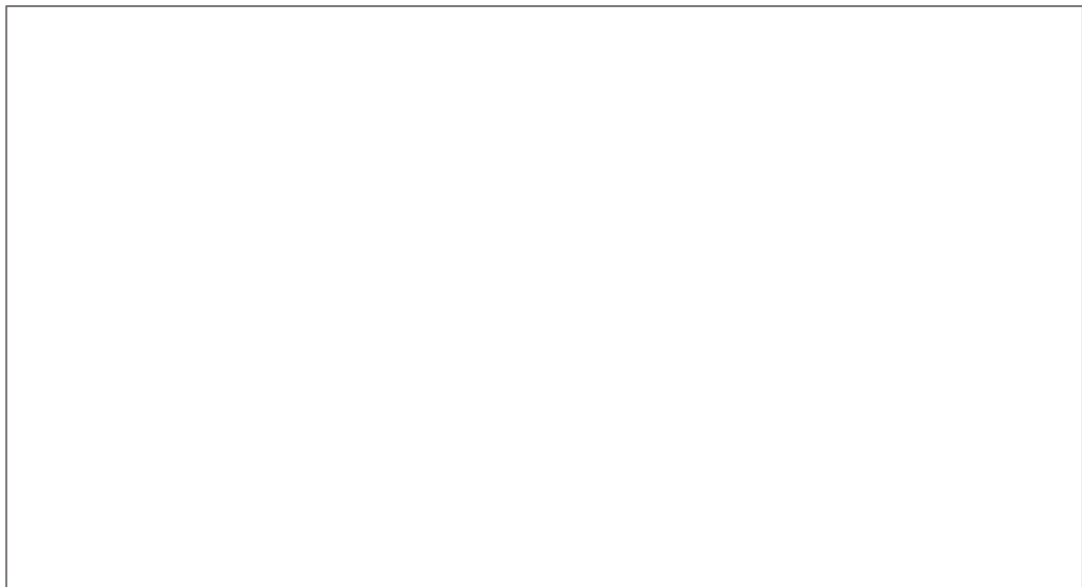


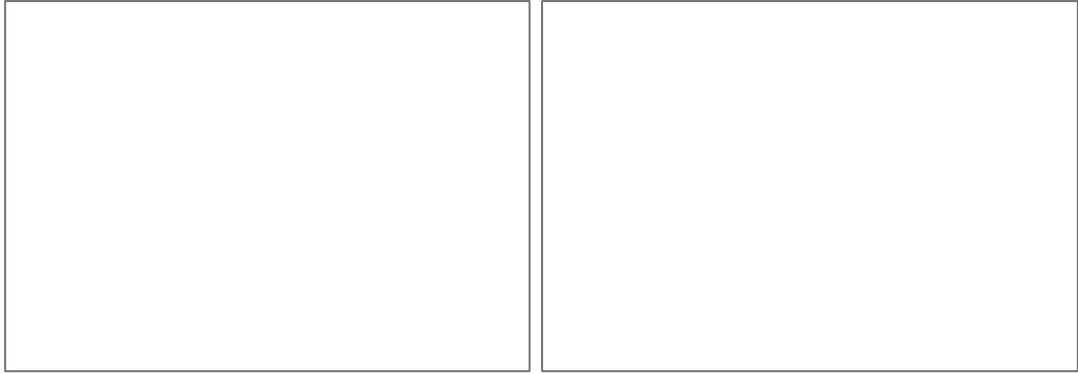
Figure 7.22: Courtyard elevations of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> From the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

<sup>73</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, *Baghdad (Iraq): View of Elevation inside Entrance Portal with Arabic Inscription and Geometric Ornament, Mirjaniyya Madrasa; Detail of Geometric Stucco Strapwork Decoration in Iwan, Citadel of Baghdad (Iraq)*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Libraries, (<<https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll11/id/3880>> [Accessed 25 May 2018]).

<sup>74</sup> Friedrich Sarre, and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise Im Euphrat- Und Tigris-Gebiet*. Vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag Von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1920), p. 186.



Left: Figure 7.23: The iwan of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya.

Right: Figure 7.24: Courtyard view of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya's *musalla*.<sup>75</sup>

Due to its significance as an ancient religious and educational institution, and even though it was within the original inscribed route of Al Rashid Street, the building was saved from demolition by making a slight bend to the course of the Street. Nonetheless, similar to the Haidar Khana Mosque, Al-Mirjaniya lost all of its attached waqf shops as a result of constructing the street in AD 1916. As a consequence, the *awqaf*'s long traditions were suddenly severed by opening the street.<sup>76</sup>

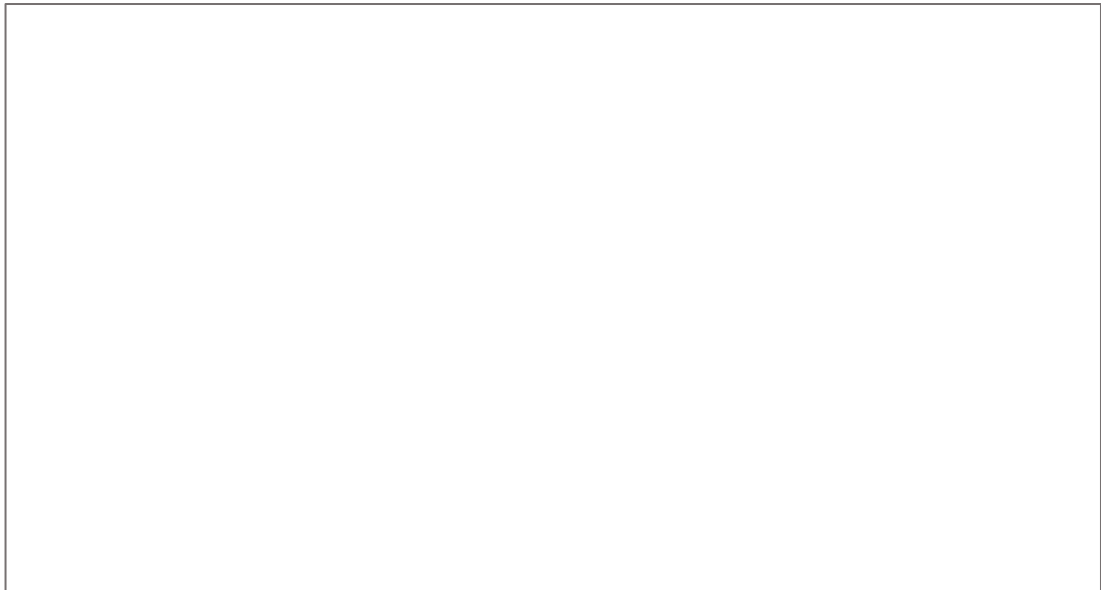


Figure 7.25: Bend in Al Rashid Street to save Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya from demolition.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Friedrich Sarre, and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise Im Euphrat- Und Tigris-Gebiet*. Vol. 3 (Berlin: Verlag Von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1911), p. 111.

<sup>76</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, an official request submitted to Awqaf directory dated 27th of September 1924.

<sup>77</sup> Adopted from The National Archives of the UK (TNA), WO 302/550: City of Baghdad Mosaic of Air Photographs (1917).

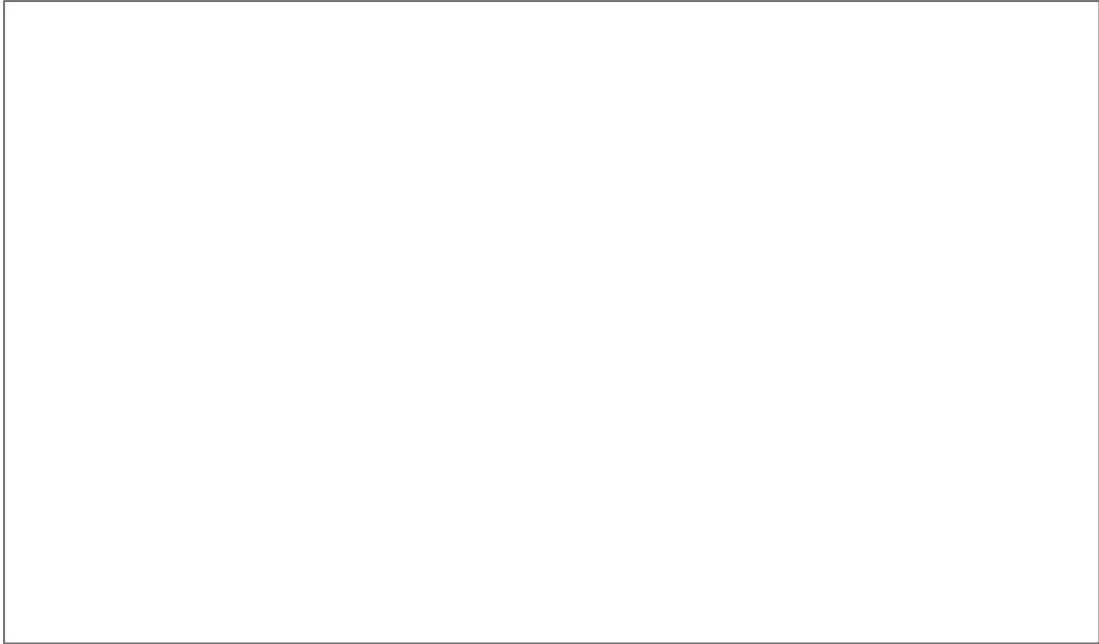


Figure 7.26: The traces of the demolished *waqf* shops attached to the south-western side of Al-Madrassa al-Mirjaniya (*musalla* side).<sup>78</sup>

However, the preservation of Al-Mirjaniya demolished shops on the north-western side (next to the gate), and the shop's occupiers attempted to mitigate the effects of this abrupt change. Despite their rented shops being demolished, they continued to pay annual rents to the *Awqaf* and erected makeshift shops on the street's pavement next to the gate, only for these to be disputed by the municipality, as well as an *Awqaf*'s proposal to rebuild the shops on the street pavement under the pretext that the pavement land was not owned by the *Awqaf*. Two responses were issued from municipality in AD 1922 and AD 1925 respectively:

The waqf land has no clear borders and the land near the Mirjania madrasa is a public road congested with passers-by and therefore the municipality is obliged to maintain the public roads and remove any occupations on any of which.<sup>79</sup>

I regret no building can be allowed on the arassa<sup>80</sup> in front of Jamie al Mirjan in Exchange Square.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *Photograph (Q 24303)*, Imperial War Museums, (1917) <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205264585>> [Accessed 25 March 2017].

<sup>79</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, a correspondence sent by the municipality of Baghdad to the directory of Awqaf No. 291 dated 14/06/1922.

<sup>80</sup> Arassa means land in Arabic. The response was written in English by the municipal British Engineer Mr A. Slater who used the Arabic word arassa instead of the English word land.

<sup>81</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, a correspondence sent by the Municipal Engineer to the "Mudier" (manger in Arabic) of Awqaf No. 947/A/2 dated 13 September 1925.

The *waqf* land and the shops were already registered.<sup>82</sup> However, the use of this pretext did not solely result from opening up the street, but from inherited flawed practices in the city in terms of poor mapping and the loss of significant part of the land registry,<sup>83</sup> as discussed in chapter 3. In addition, poor documentation practice within the *Awqaf* itself, such as recording tenancy agreements, limited litigation against the municipality as no records were dated later than AD 1904.<sup>84</sup>

Thus in AD 1925, instead of permitting the shops' reconstruction, the municipality built instead a modern water facility on the pavement and attached it to the front elevation of Al-Mirjaniya. It was reported by an *awqaf's* inspector that deep foundations were dug to construct a water meter room,<sup>85</sup> and this consequently posed a considerable threat to the stability of Al-Mirjaniya's walls.<sup>86</sup> Even after the objection by the *awqaf*, the municipality proceeded with the work and insisted that the land in which the construction work was taking place was the pavement of the public street and a small part of the road owned by the municipality, stating that there was no justification for the *awqaf* to halt the construction work and if the latter had a right in owning the land, a lawsuit should be filed in court.<sup>87</sup>

Instead of pursuing a lawsuit, the *Awqaf* restored Al-Madrassa al-Mirjaniya's gate, plastering the lower part of the south-western (*musalla*) side,<sup>88</sup> and permitting the construction of makeshift shops in the area between the gate and the water facility in AD 1928.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, an internal correspondence between the Awqaf property manager and the Awqaf registrar dated 4 April 1925.

<sup>83</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, an internal correspondence between the Awqaf registrar and the Awqaf property manager and dated 5 April 1925.

<sup>84</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, two internal correspondences in the directory of Awqaf No.N/A dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 1928 and No. N/A dated 20 March 1928.

<sup>85</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, an internal correspondence sent by the Awqaf inspector to the minister of Awqaf dated 24 March 1925.

<sup>86</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, an internal correspondence sent by the Awqaf inspector to his manager dated 28 March 1925.

<sup>87</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, a correspondence sent by the municipality of Baghdad to the administrative inspector of Baghdad province No. 1225/702 dated 7 April 1925.

<sup>88</sup> Al Janabi, p. 117.

<sup>89</sup> Based on observing a historical photo of Al Rashid Street and Al-Madrassa al-Mirjaniya (Figure: 7.27).

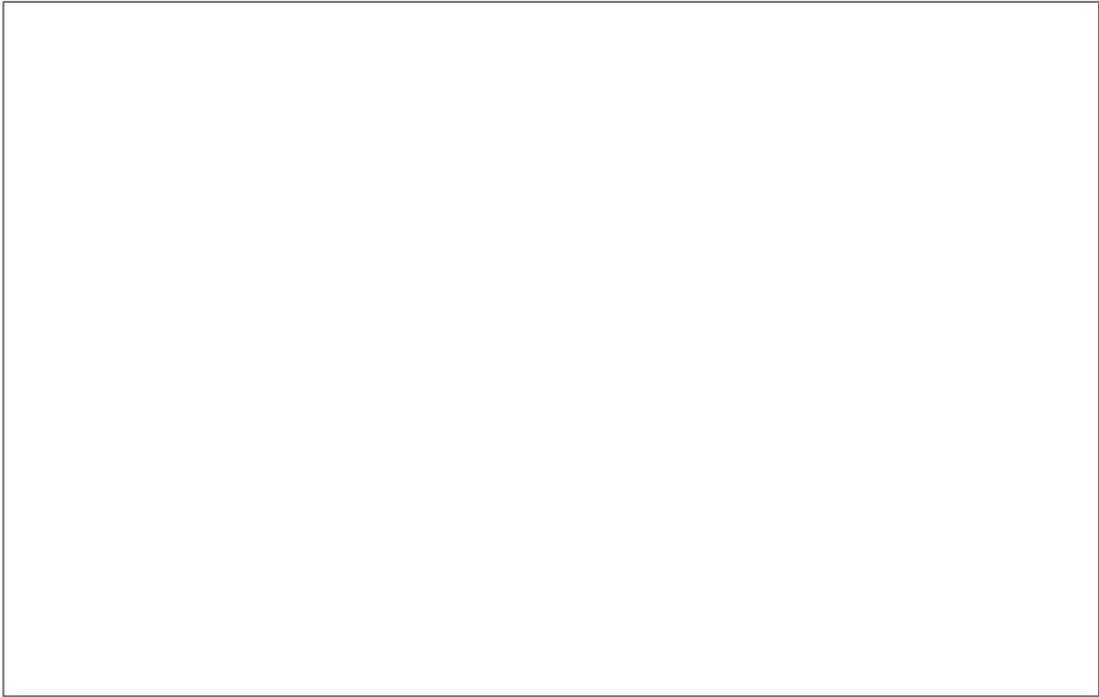


Figure 7.27: A panoramic photo shows the bend in Al Rashid Street near Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya, al-Mirjaniya's restored gate, the water facility, and the *Awqaf* makeshift shops in between.<sup>90</sup>

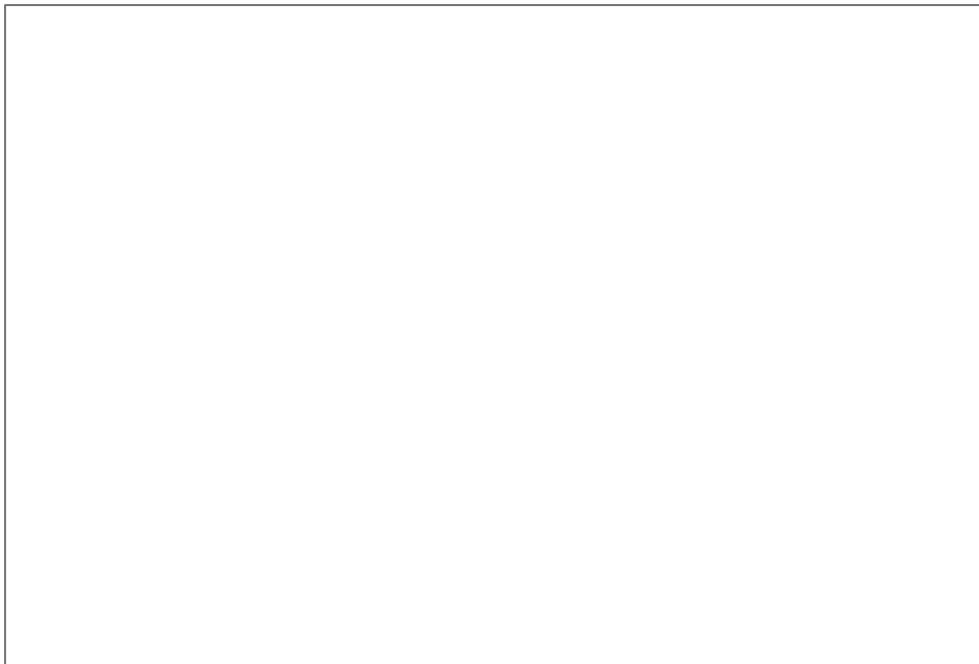


Figure 7.28: The south-western elevation of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya after plastering the lower part of the wall and removing traces of the demolished shops.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> I have created the panoramic photo by placing the two photos together, the left part was taken from the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, while the reference of the second part is American Colony (Jerusalem) - Photo Department - photographer, *Iraq. (Mesopotamia). Baghdad. Views, Street Scenes, and Types. New Street near the Maude Bridge*, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, (1932) <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2019706752/>> [Accessed 15 March 2017].

<sup>91</sup> From the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

Thus, the conflict between the awqaf and municipality continued to reach a point where the latter demanded the demolition of Al-Mirjaniya under the pretext of straightening the street on one hand and surprisingly that the ancient madrasa itself was constructed on a public road on the other.<sup>92</sup> This generated a public outcry among Baghdadis against the municipality's proposal.

It is without doubt that modernity had its effects on the municipality's nationalist officials efforts to further modernize the city. Their nationalistic modernization failed to resolve the paradox of modernity as described by French philosopher Paul Ricoeur: '*how to become modern and return to sources; how to revive an old dormant civilisation and take part in universal civilisation*'.<sup>93</sup> This was evident when the Mayor of Baghdad – Arshad al-Umari who successfully demolished another ancient monument, Bab al-Shargi Gate, by using the similar pretext of widening Al Rashid Street in AD 1937 –<sup>94</sup> declared during a press conference that:

I am so astonished at the unprecedented interest in saving a decrepit old madrasa mosque. After demolishing it and shifting its location from the course of the street, I am willing to build a more magnificent and commodious mosque than the extant one, therefore I do not understand why the intransigency and adherence to protect it.<sup>95</sup>

This statement shows that in this time period, Al-Mirjaniya, a significant Islamic heritage, was considered far inferior to the modernity of the street, thus leading to the political prioritising of modern infrastructure over heritage. It was not an isolated incident in the Islamic world. Said Zulficar, an expert at UNESCO Division of Cultural Heritage, later elaborated:

*It is the very continued existence of the Islamic cultural heritage, as portrayed by the historical monuments and sites constructed during that civilization, which today is at stake. This heritage is now seriously threatened with disfigurement and destruction by a variety of factors both psychological and economic. From the psychological standpoint, the Islamic countries suffer from some form of inferiority complex with regard to Western standards and values, and they thereby tend to downgrade, disregard, and even in some extreme cases be ashamed of their past heritage.*<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, a correspondence sent by the land registry office to the directory of Awqaf No. 1727 dated 11 February 1940.

<sup>93</sup> Susannah Hagan, 'Reflections on a Wind-Catcher: Climate and Cultural Identity', in *Architecture and Globalisation in the Persian Gulf Region*, ed. by Murray Fraser and Nasser Golzari (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 347-58 (p. 351).

<sup>94</sup> Jawad and Susa, p. 162.

<sup>95</sup> Baghdadi, p. 256.

<sup>96</sup> Mildred F. Schmertz, 'Design in the Spirit of Islam: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture', *Architectural Record*, March 1979, pp. 117-24. (p. 121).



As a result of the public opposition, Rifat al-Safar argues based solely on anecdotal evidence, that the municipality deliberately flooded the area around Al-Mirjaniya to harm it and accelerate its inevitable demolition.<sup>97</sup> Even if this account should not be accepted, it was documented in a correspondence sent from the municipality to the *awqaf* that the recently built water facility was in a very poor state physically and needed to be demolished.<sup>98</sup> This at least suggests that a series of water leaks from the attached water facility had harmed the walls of Al-Mirjaniya madrasa.

Consequently, cracks started to appear in Al-Mirjaniya's walls which accelerated demands for the historic building's demolition by the municipality. However, as a listed ancient monument owned by *awqaf*, meeting such demands was not feasible without an approval from both the Directorate of Ancient Antiquities and the *awqaf*. Therefore, a specialized technical committee was formed in AD 1945 to produce a comprehensive report assessing the physical state of Al-Mirjaniya involving the municipality of Baghdad, *awqaf*, and the prominent British archaeologist Seton Lloyd as a representative of the Directorate of the Ancient Antiquities.<sup>99</sup> This does show that the protection mechanism stipulated by the Iraqi law of antiquities was carefully followed.

Sadly, the report's conclusion authorized the demolition of significant parts of Al-Mirjaniya, leaving only the minaret, the gate, and the dome surmounted Mirjan's tomb to survive intact. Seton Lloyd's justification was that 'the west facade, facing Shari'-al-Rashid, was of no aesthetic value' and in his view, after correcting the alignment of the Street, 'it was to be replaced by a colonnaded screen-wall separating the mosque courtyard from the street'.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the conclusion of the report permitted the reconstruction of Al-Mirjaniya's *musalla* after shifting its location to the east of the course of the Street on a site equivalent to the exact area taken to widen the Street. The report obliged the municipality to fund the purchase of the new site as a compensation for *awqaf*. In addition, after dismantling the *waqfiya* inscriptions and decorations in

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<sup>97</sup> Rifat Marhoon al-Safar, *Old Baghdadi Mahallas in Memoris* (Baghdad: House of General Cultural Affairs Press, 2011), p. 75.

<sup>98</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 3216/377, a correspondence sent by the municipality of Baghdad to the directory of *Awqaf* No. 300 dated 14 January 1940.

<sup>99</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the Council of Ministers to Ministry of Interior and general directory of *Awqaf* No. 864 dated 6 March 1944.

<sup>100</sup> Seton Lloyd, 'Discovery in the Madrasat Al-Mirjaniya', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq (English Section)*, I (1946), 10-12 (pp. 10-11).

the *musalla*, the report recommended that they should be re-installed in appropriate positions in the new *musalla* or to be exhibited in the Islamic museum [the so called Abbasid Palace].<sup>101</sup> Certainly, these outcomes had negative consequences, but at least such measures were sensitive in dealing with both long and recently established traditions, such as compensating the awqaf in the former and avoiding an abrupt break of the street continuous colonnade in the latter; and attempted to safeguard parts of the original *musalla* by salvaging the *waqfiya* inscriptions.

On 1 July 1945 as soon as the demolition began,<sup>102</sup> an abundance of splendid inscriptions and decorations were discovered under layers of plaster in the *musalla*. According to the Directorate of the Ancient Antiquities, these inscriptions and decorations surpassed in their excellence those found in the [so called] Abbasid palace or Al-Mustansiriya madrasa in Baghdad or even any ancient Islamic buildings in other countries. Accordingly, the Directorate of the Ancient Antiquities reconsidered its previous recommendations and faced the dilemma of saving the entire *musalla* and disrupting the municipality's ongoing work or dismantling the newly discovered pieces in a similar way to the *waqfiya* inscriptions. Seton Lloyd reported that:

In view of discoveries it was plainly of vital importance that the *musalla* portion of the Mirjan mosque should be preserved as a national monument, and its decorations carefully restored. But since this would involve the interruption of the large-scale work undertaken by the Municipality, which had already reached an advanced stage, the decision to be taken was a major one.<sup>103</sup>

To escape this predicament, the Directorate commented that 'it is prudent to consult an eminent foreign expert in Islamic arts and we have selected professor Creswell,<sup>104</sup> we urge an approval by the Council of Ministers to invite him to Baghdad for a one week period.'<sup>105</sup> Indeed, the action taken by the Directorate was commensurate with the new findings, but it does not absolve it from the responsibility of approving the demolition in the first place. It means that prior to the approval, the building was not thoroughly investigated and the inspection not adequately undertaken.

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<sup>101</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the Municipality of Baghdad to the Ministry of Interior No. 17844 dated 3 October 1945.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Lloyd, pp. 10-12 (p. 11).

<sup>104</sup> Creswell was an eminent professor in Islamic Arts, he worked at the king Fouad I University in Cairo.

<sup>105</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the directory of ancient antiquities to the Ministry of Information No. N/A dated 3 September 1945.



Left: Figure 7.29: Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya's *musalla* prior to commencing the demolition.<sup>106</sup>  
 Right: figure 7.30: Splendid inscriptions and decorations were discovered under layers of plaster in the Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya's *musalla* after the start of demolition.<sup>107</sup>

Creswell submitted his report on 22 September 1945, in which he emphasised the uniqueness of Al-Mirjaniya not only by the virtue of its splendid motifs and inscription, but also because it was the only surviving monument which had a peerless construction type. He wrote:

The recent discovery, in the hall of prayer of the Mirjaniya Madrasa, of splendid panels of Abbasid carved brickwork of the finest quality has at once raised this building, not regarded hitherto as of great importance, to the very front rank as a monument of Muslim architecture.

The carved brick technique is completely unknown in Egypt, Syria and Palestine and the amount in Iraq is very limited. Apart from the Abbasid Palace in the Citadel, the Mirjaniya Madrasa has no rival.

The *musalla* of the Mirjaniya is also of great importance structurally for the following reason. In Egypt madrasas did not have a *musalla* of special type, they merely used the *iwan qibla* as a *musalla* when prayer-time came; at other times classes of instruction were held there, as in the other *iwans*, which were vaulted halls opening onto the *sahn* for their full width, as in the Kamiliya Madrasa, and the Madrasas of Sultan Salih, Muhammad an-Nasir and Barquq, etc.

<sup>106</sup> From the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

<sup>107</sup> From the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

But in Syria *madrāsas* were constructed differently. We are able to speak with certitude on this point, for eight or nine *madrāsas* built before 700 H. (1300) have been preserved. They were built sometimes for one rite sometimes for two. In the one-rite *madrāsa* there was a tunnel-vaulted *iwan* for teaching in, in a two-rite *madrāsa* two *iwans*. On the *qibla* side was the *musalla*. This always consisted of a hall with a triple-arched facade on the *sahn*, the central arch being wider and higher than the lateral ones. Behind this the *musalla* was developed laterally; it usually had a dome in the centre with tunnel-vaulted extensions to right and left; occasionally there were three domes in a row.

The *musalla* of the Mirjaniya is the only surviving example in Iraq of this type. It is therefore an outstanding monument of Muslim architecture, not only because of its splendid ornament, more of which is coming to light every day, but also on account of the fact that it is the only example surviving in Iraq of this early type of triple-arched, laterally developed and domed hall of prayer.<sup>108</sup>

When Creswell submitted his report, Al-Mirjaniya's and its *musalla* were virtually ruined with exception to the gate, the minaret, and the dome over Mirjan's tomb.<sup>109</sup> Yet its future was to be determined by three agencies with contradicting aims: *Awqaf* and its traditions in keeping the area of the new building equivalent to that of the original *madrāsa*; the municipality fuelled by nationalistic driven modernity in straightening the street;<sup>110</sup> and the Directorate of Ancient Antiquates in restoring the *musalla* based on Creswell's report.<sup>111</sup> Thus, to solve this impasse, the Iraqi Council of Ministers emphasized the significance of the *musalla* as a national monument and took a twofold decision of restoring it and compensating the municipality for jettisoning its project.<sup>112</sup>

After a lengthy bureaucratic process involving the threat from the municipality of not funding or proceeding with the reconstruction of already demolished parts of Al-Mirjaniya,<sup>113</sup> a new proposal was submitted by the municipality to the Council of Ministers. According to this, a technical solution became feasible and a local artisan was found who would be able not only to dismantle the inscriptions as was the case in

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<sup>108</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the directory of ancient antiquities to the municipality of Baghdad No. 1353/11/40 dated 25 September 1945.

<sup>109</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record no. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the municipality of Baghdad to the ministry of interior No. 17844 dated 3 October 1945.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the directory of ancient antiquities to the ministry of information, municipality of Baghdad and the directory of *Awqaf* No. 135/11/40 dated 23 January 1946.

<sup>112</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the secretary of the Council of Ministers to the ministry of information No. 4541 dated 13 December 1945.

<sup>113</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, the report of the financial committee dated 21 December 1945.

the previous proposal, but to do this also for the splendid carved brickwork in the *musalla* with a guarantee that all of which would be in an intact condition and could be used in the construction of the new *musalla*.<sup>114</sup>



Figure 7.31: Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya at the time when Creswell submitted his report.<sup>115</sup>



Figure 7.32: The demolition of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya's *musalla* was stopped, but it was transformed to a ruin.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Iraqi National Library and Archives, Record No. 32120/16, a correspondence sent by the municipality of Baghdad to the Ministry of Interior No. 4698 dated 5 March 1946.

<sup>115</sup> From the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

By sanctioning the proposal, the municipality argued, not only would the requirements of the Directorate of Ancient Antiquities and *Awqaf* be met, but the development of Baghdad as a city with an organized street would still be achieved. Since it involved using the original material in the construction of the new *musalla*, the municipality emphasized that its archaeological significance would be equivalent to that of the original one. Furthermore, the total *waqf* area would correspond to that prior to the demolition work. On the other hand, as the straightness of the street would be executed, this nullified the required compensation to be paid to the municipality and consequently saving the government budget an exorbitant capital.<sup>117</sup>

Sadly, the demolition of Al-Mirjaniya was thus sanctioned by the Council of Ministers in order to straighten the street in AD 1946.<sup>118</sup> However, the total loss of Al-Mirjaniya was far more than what was sanctioned, contrary to the Council of Ministers decision and the municipality proposal, the splendid dome surmounting Mirjan's tomb was demolished even though it was not in the path of the street. The gate and the minaret remain the only surviving parts of Al-Mirjaniya's original setting.

The new *musalla* had three identical domes, differing in style from those in the original madrasa, but ironically, the Directorate of Ancient Antiquities demolished the middle dome and constructed a new one imitating that surmounting the tomb of Mirjan in terms of style and ornamentation.<sup>119</sup> This was coupled by replacing the brick wall with a metal fence to make Al-Mirjaniya completely visible from Al Rashid Street. With respect to the salvaged splendid carved brickwork and inscriptions, only those constituting the famous *waqfiya* of the founder have been placed on the prayer wall in the new *musalla*,<sup>120</sup> while the rest were stored in the so-called Abbasid Palace.<sup>121</sup> The new *musalla* has severely undermined the overall integrity of Al-Mirjaniya, and Desmond Stewart and John Haylock described the new *musalla* and the ancient remains when they visited Baghdad as: 'there is a carved door and minaret of the same period on to which has been ruthlessly tacked an ugly modern mosque'.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> 'Correspondence and Notes', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, II (1946), 257-89 (pp. 270-71).

<sup>119</sup> Sharif Yusuf, *The History of Iraqi Architecture's Art in Different Periods* ed. by Ihsan Fethi (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research & Publishing, 2014), p. 522.

<sup>120</sup> Al Janabi, p. 113.

<sup>121</sup> Sadiq al-Hasani, 'News and Correspondence', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XIV (1958), 189-212 (p. 202).

<sup>122</sup> Stewart and Haylock, p. 38.

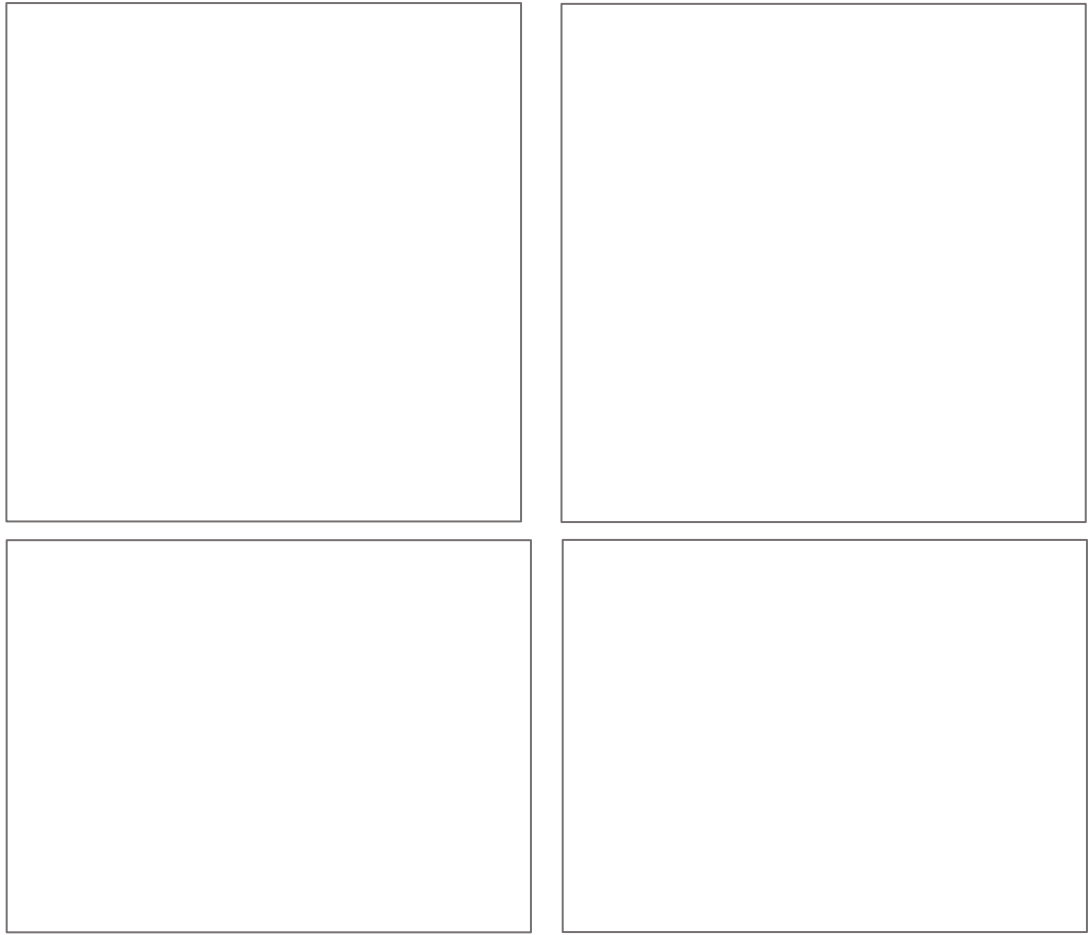


Figure 7.33-7.36: Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya after the construction of the new *musalla*.<sup>123</sup>

Sadly, Baghdad has lost a rare example of the Islamic architecture and Al Rashid Street has not only lost a monument, but the proposed continuity of its colonnade in front of Al-Mirjaniya as well.



Left: Figure 7.37: Site plan of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya in AD 1917, the splendid dome surmounting Mirjan's tomb was not in the path of the street.<sup>124</sup>

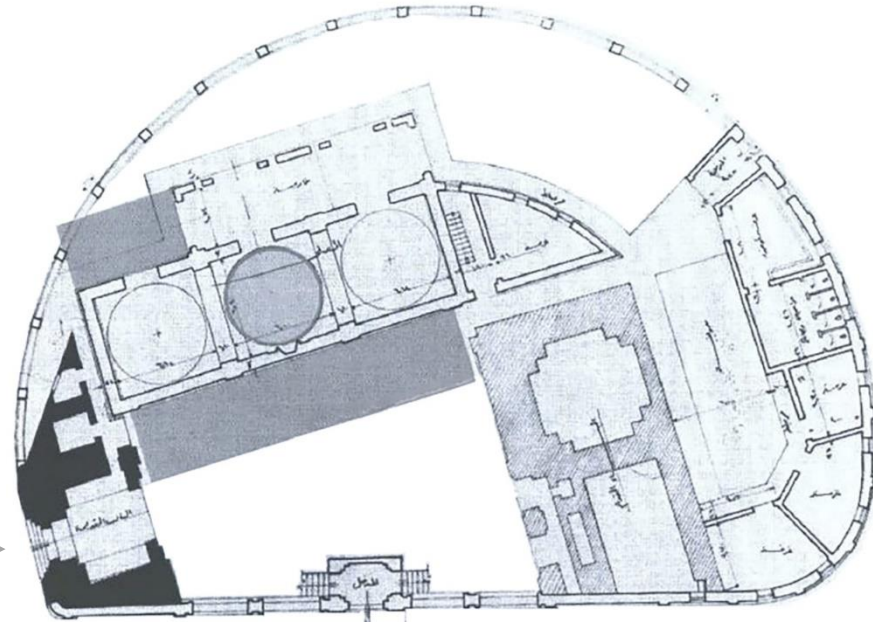
Right: Figure 7.38: Site plan of Al-Madrasa al-Mirjaniya after the construction of the new *musalla*.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> From the archives of the Municipality of Baghdad.

<sup>124</sup> Adopted from The National Archives of the UK (TNA), WO 302/546: City of Baghdad Ed No 1 (06.06.1917).

<sup>125</sup> Adopted from the archives of the Municipality of Baghdad.



The gate and the minaret remain the only surviving parts of Al-Mirjaniya

Figure 7.39: Al-Madrassa al-Mirjaniya’s plan after the construction of the new *musalla*..<sup>126</sup>

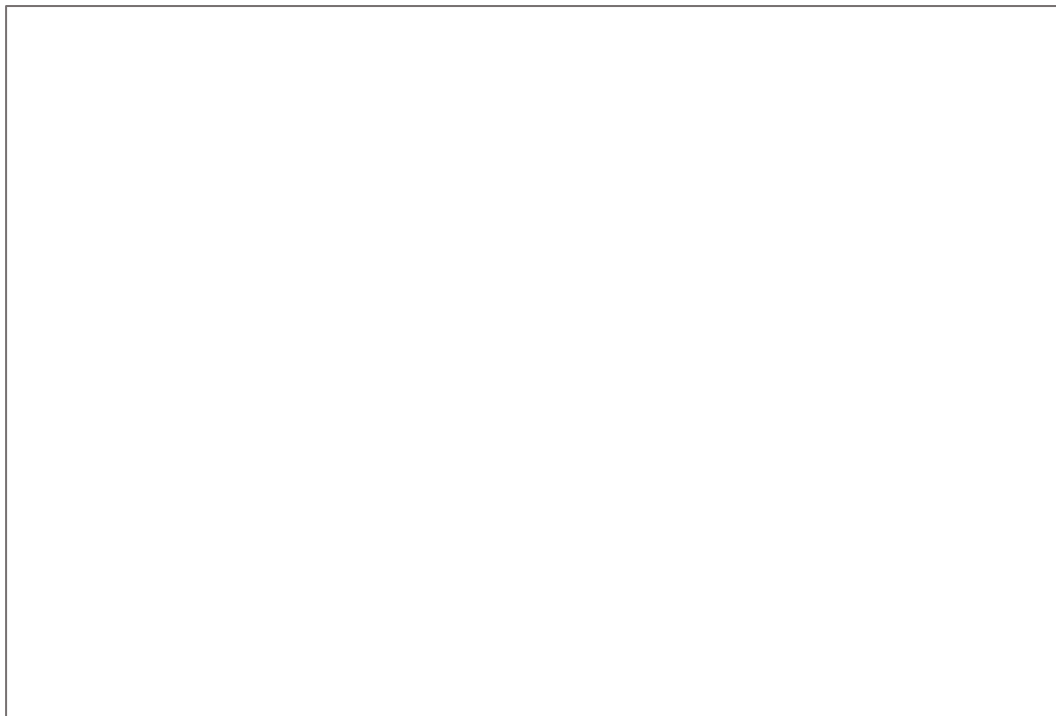


Figure 7.40: Al-Madrassa al-Mirjaniya after replacing the middle dome of the new *musalla* and erecting metal fencing to delineate the new boundary with Al Rashid Street.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> From the archives of the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

<sup>127</sup> Yasser Tabbaa, *Madrassa Al-Mirjaniyya: Exterior View of the Madrasa from the Street*, Aga Khan Documentation Center, (<[http://archnet.org/sites/3844/media\\_contents/5400](http://archnet.org/sites/3844/media_contents/5400)> [Accessed 30 May 2017]).



The example of Al-Mirjaniya madrasa has shown clearly that heritage is not more than a mere vehicle for nationalism, a means to reach a desired destiny. Once heritage conflicts with other powerful devices pertaining to a nationalist agenda such as modernity in terms of advancement and development heritage will be overridden, neglected, abandoned, and even destroyed for the sake of that agenda. Ironically, the Ottomans did not demolish the Al-Mirjaniya madrasa in wartime, but it was the Arab nationalists who did not hesitate to destroy it in peacetime.

### **Al Rashid: from an agent of destruction to a heritage street, official measures to protect and redevelop it**

Paradoxically, in spite of the barrage of criticism and the wholesale demolition of Baghdad's traditional fabric caused by the construction of Al Rashid Street, the street had gradually evolved to be the cardinal heritage street of the city. Its somewhat recent opening and eclectic low quality architecture have meant that the street's significance does not come from an aesthetic or historical value. Instead, the significance is the result of a confluence of two major factors. Intangibly, since the street has played a key role in the various fields of recent Iraqi history in terms of politics, economy, and culture, its significance is as a place of memory with a strong communal value. Tangibly, its significance stems primarily from evidential and location value. The street is the evidence of a significant century of change, the buildings alongside it exhibit an essential chapter of the architectural development of the city, and the street, the previously alien form, has benefited from the static juxtaposition of traditional old and modern new structures. Yassin Al nasir comments that 'the street manifests the old without developing it and lives with the modern without renewing it'.<sup>128</sup> In addition, its significance is maintained owing to the street's connections with the city's traditional urban components generally and *suqs* in particular while these are still active.

Similar to some Baghdadi traditional domestic architecture, the first official study to shed light on the significance of Al Rashid Street was the *Baghdad comprehensive development plan towards the year AD 2000*. The plan stated that even though it was not part of the city's original medieval fabric, the street has gained its own unique characteristics and has become one of the salient features of the old Baghdad city.

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<sup>128</sup> Al nasir, p. 51.

According to the plan, the significance of the street stemmed from three factors: Function, as a pedestrian corridor equipped with continuous rows of shops and commercial facilities. Scale, in terms of the aspect ratio resulting from the width of the street and the height of buildings alongside it. Lastly, architectural elements, especially the continuous colonnades and some of the street's ornamented buildings.

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Neither the street nor its buildings were listed as outcomes of the plan. However, two recommendations were produced. First, the street's characteristics should be protected by emphasising the need to keep the continuity of the colonnades undisrupted on the one hand and selecting the most significant traditional buildings in the street to be preserved as examples of Arab architecture on the other. Second, the street should be included in all future redevelopment projects pertaining to the Rusafa historic core.<sup>130</sup>

However, as a result of a dramatic shift in the political environment in the city of Baghdad, which affected conservation management and practice in the whole historic core of Rusafa (as discussed in chapter 5), it was the Rusafa Study of 1984 that listed a significant number of non-ancient heritage buildings in the street. In addition, the study considered Al Rashid Street as the cornerstone in the development of the Urban Design Schemes of Rusafa.<sup>131</sup> According to the Rusafa Study of 1984, the street is of high significance as it 'can be regarded as a huge outdoor museum which displays the architectural forms of various historical periods'.<sup>132</sup> Thus, this museum – which benefits from being of human scale, its almost continuous colonnades, and decorative buildings – is 'undoubtedly the most interesting street in Baghdad'.<sup>133</sup>

After an intensive building by building photographic field survey of the street's 291 buildings by Dr Ihsan Fethi and his assistants in July 1983, the Rusafa Study of 1984 listed 104 buildings, around thirty four percent of the total number of the street's buildings, and formulated their conservation.<sup>134</sup> In addition, the study revealed that the street encompassed five dominant 'building styles or types' as follows:

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<sup>129</sup> Polservice, 'Baghdad Comprehensive City Development Plan 2000', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Asima 1973), p. 123.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>131</sup> Stefano Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report: Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of Historical Centre of Baghdad City', (Baghdad: Amanat Al Assima, 1984), pp. 2, 44.

<sup>132</sup> Bianca and others, 'Synthesis Report', p. 23.

<sup>133</sup> Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report', p. 47.

<sup>134</sup> Bianca and others, 'Synthesis Report', pp. 23, 33.

Type A – Monuments: These are major monuments (Grade A) such as mosques, which face out to Rashid Street. As such they form identifiable ‘breaks’ in the continuity of Rashid Street.

Type B – Early Traditional: Up to 1920, mostly in brickwork with traditional detailing and decoration.

Type C – Art Nouveau: Late 1920’s and early 1930’s, mostly in brickwork but with steel structural joints, and with Arabic and European floriated designs and decorations.

Type D – Art Decor: 1930’s and early 1940’s, mostly in brickwork and steel structural joists, but with generally streamlined and angular, rectilinear lines of decoration and iron balustrading.

Type E – Modern: 1950’s – 80’s. Mostly in brick and reinforced concrete. Show disregard to established character of Rashid Street, most with no arcade, and of highest number of storeys.<sup>135</sup>

The reason for such disregard to the established characteristics of Al Rashid Street by the majority of the modern buildings was the absence of effective urban designs and development controls since the 1950s. This has made the colonnade appear only in around seventy percent of all buildings on the street, and has made the street consists of only 40.5 percent of two-storey-buildings and slightly more than a quarter of three-storey-buildings. In addition, the survey also revealed that the physical and morphological cohesion of Al Rashid Street was weakened by the construction of bridges over the Tigris from 1939 to 1984 leading to the division of the street into five distinct main zones. Those zones from north to south of the street are Maidan Zone 450 m, Haidarkhana Zone 500 m, Suqs Zone 1,000 m, Muraba'a Zone 600 m, and Sinak Zone 550 m.<sup>136</sup> The closer the zone to the north of the street, where the citadel and *suqs* area are situated, the more historical and condense the fabric is.<sup>137</sup>



Figure 7.41: The five distinct zone of Al Rashid Street.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>137</sup> Senior Iraqi Architect.

<sup>138</sup> Adopted from Google Earth.

To manage such eclecticism, which immensely affects the streetscape, comprehensive Street Control and Design Guidelines were produced by the Rusafa Study of 1984. This was coupled by proposing protective and corrective measures for every building in the street. These measures varied in the case of heritage buildings from maintenance and minor repair to restoration with major repair. Meanwhile, the intervention measures for redevelopment were reconstruction or infill of buildings based on design guidelines, and re-utilization of plots for public services after demolition of existing structures.<sup>139</sup> In addition, elaborate urban design studies and proposals were made for five selected focal places in the street, each of which had been neglected and were in urgent need for redevelopment. Those places, which constitute significant nodes in the street, were ‘Bab Al Sharqi and Khayam Cinema Complex, Sinak Bridge, Al Oadhi Square, Al Ghurairi Square, and Al Rusafi Square’.<sup>140</sup>

Nevertheless, as discussed in chapter 5, the combination of the economic crisis, resulting from the war of attrition with Iran, and the change of the political-mythological narrative and its associated identity, led to the jettison of the Rusafa Study project and of Al Rashid Street as part of it as well. Yet, Al Ghurairi Square was still a place of memory strongly linked to the revolutionary regime’s political narrative, a narrative of the Arab Ba’ath Party’s fierce struggle for power, a narrative designed to commemorate lost heroes and to highly praise those who survived. The next section analyses and discusses the way in which the only node of the street was re-developed as well as demonstrating the politics behind it, and how such a place has ultimately ended up as a nationally contested political heritage.

### **Al Ghurairi Square: its formation, significance, and redevelopment**

The narrative of Al Ghurairi Square started on the evening of 7 October 1959 when General Abd al-Karim Qasim, was the first prime minister of the Republic of Iraq who overthrew the Iraqi hereditary monarch and established the first republic in AD 1958. He was driven through Al Rashid Street to return to his residence in the Iraqi Ministry of Defence, which is situated at the north of street. When his convoy reached Ras al Qurayyah *Mahalla*, it was ambushed by the Arab Socialist Ba’ath Party’s assassin team who suddenly appeared from behind the pillars of Al Rashid Street, opened fire with

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<sup>139</sup> Bianca and others, 'Synthesis Report', pp. 37-40.

<sup>140</sup> Bianca and others, 'Rusafa Summary Report', p. 47.

machine guns and riddled Qasim's car with bullets. His driver was killed instantly, his aide-de-camp was badly injured, but General Qasim himself made a miracle survival with only bullets in his shoulder. Meanwhile, Abd al-Wahhab Al Ghurairi, who was one of the assassin team, was killed and his body left at the scene.<sup>141-142</sup> In addition, another twenty-three year-old assassin who was injured with a bullet in his leg, was carried by his Ba'athist comrades to safety off Al Rashid Street, benefiting from Ras al Qurayyah's narrow alleyways. He then made a lengthy dramatic escape to Syria; his name was Saddam Hussein.<sup>143</sup>

Shortly afterwards, the buildings on the western side of Al Rashid Street in Ras al Qurayyah *Mahalla* and the old fabric behind were demolished by the Municipality of Baghdad to make way for a square in which the bullet-riddled car<sup>144</sup> could be exhibited in the middle as a monument; a monument that celebrated the 'sole leader's' miracle survival. The speedy demolition was not only facilitated by political will, but by the fact that the land was and is still owned by the Municipality of Baghdad. Nonetheless, the land remained empty as a largely neglected plot, and instead of naming it Qasim Squire, it was named Al Ghurairi Square owing to the fact that General Qasim was overthrown and killed by a Ba'athist military coup in AD 1963. Then Al Ghurairi Square, as an empty unpaved plot, was used for car parking serving the nearby *sugs* until AD 1988.<sup>145</sup>

The failed assassination of General Qasim was at a pivotal juncture in Saddam Hussein's political life, and he emerged from his chrysalis into the world of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party as a legend. That juncture was considered as 'an epic moment in the mythical lore of Saddam Hussein's life'.<sup>146</sup> During his presidency, Saddam Hussein and his Ba'athist comrades depicted the events of October 1959 in a plethora of publications, interviews, media programmes, and even a long film,<sup>147</sup> as a 'story [that] contains all the essentials of the making of a national hero: patriotism, courage,

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<sup>141</sup> Uriel Dann, *Iraq under Qassem: A Political History, 1958-1963* (London: PALL MALL Press, 1969), pp. 253, 255.

<sup>142</sup> Saddam Hussein, *Saddam Hussein on Current Events in Iraq*. trans. Khalid Kishtainy (London: Longman, 1977), p. x.

<sup>143</sup> Marion Farouk-Sluglett, and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), p. 73.

<sup>144</sup> The car was exhibited temporarily in the ministry of defence during General Qasim's reign.

<sup>145</sup> Baghdadi Historian, 'Al Rashid Street', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2015).

<sup>146</sup> Shiva Balaghi, *Saddam Hussein: A Biography* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 26.

<sup>147</sup> The film title is *The Long Days*, directed by Tewfik Saleh.

manliness, iron discipline'.<sup>148</sup> Saddam himself accompanied by Time magazine's senior editor and correspondent visited the empty square in July 1982 and recounted the events with considerable excitement.<sup>149-150</sup> However, what was still missing from such intense political interest and a lengthy legend-making campaign was the redevelopment of the place in a way that reflected its significance.

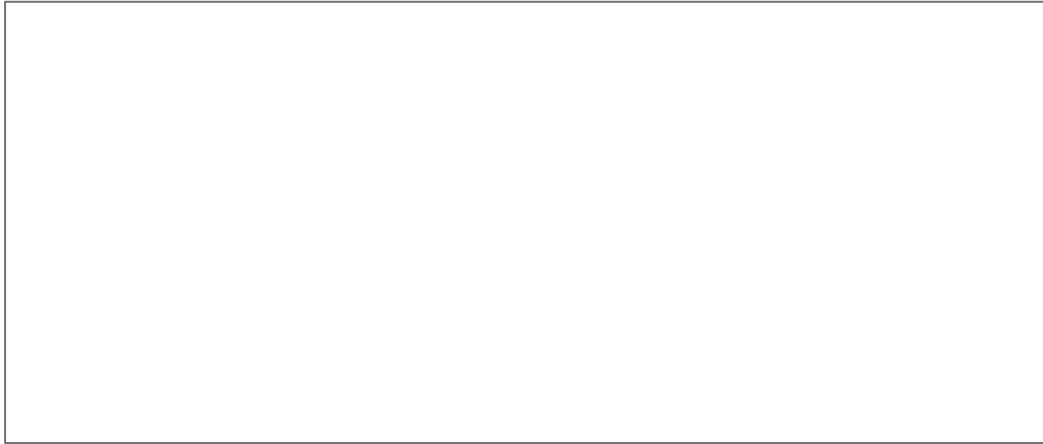


Figure 7.42: The existing condition of Al Ghurairi Square in AD 1984.<sup>151</sup>

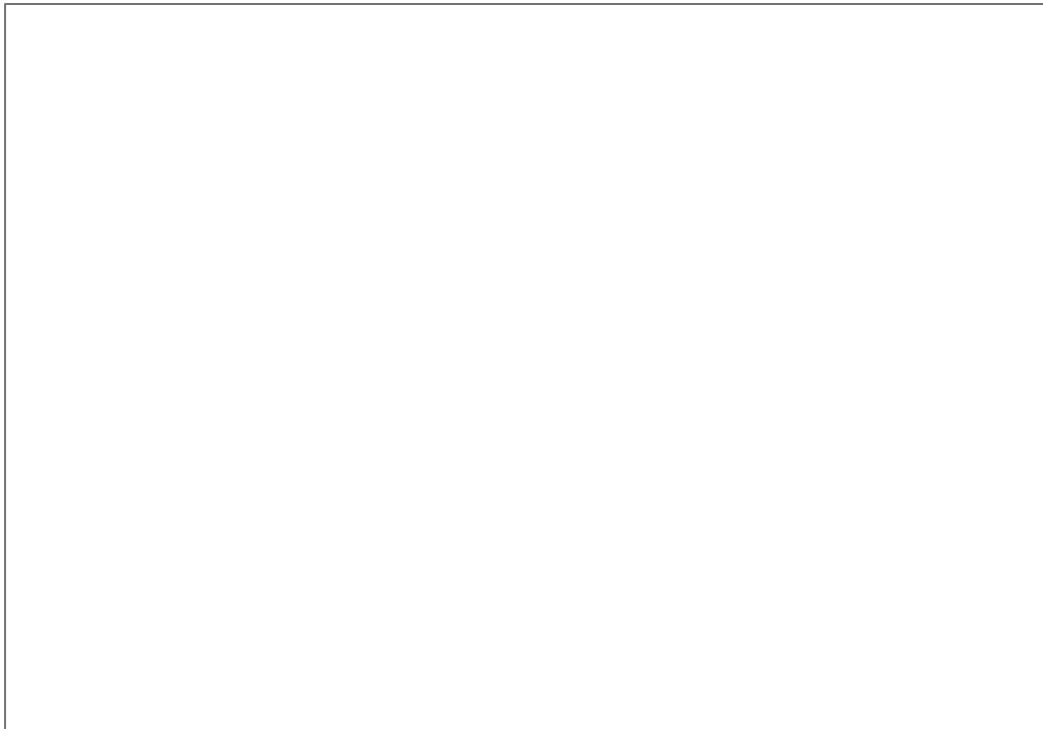


Figure 7.43: Al Ghurairi Square redevelopment as proposed by the *Rusafa Study of 1984*.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Efraim Karsh, and Inari Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), p. 18.

<sup>149</sup> Dean Breilis, and Murray J. Gart, *An Interview with Saddam Hussein*, Time Magazine, (1982) <<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,953554,00.html>> [Accessed 11 October 2018].

<sup>150</sup> Said K. Aburish, *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2001), p. 47.

<sup>151</sup> Bianca and others, 'Synthesis Report', p. 47.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Even though the Rusafa Study of 1984 as a whole was in line with the contemporaneous national political narrative, its elaborate urban design studies and proposals for Al Ghurairi Square failed to address the political history and significance of such place for the Iraqi authoritarian leadership. Instead, in a highly politicised area, it took a politically free pragmatic approach by prioritising streetscape, river accessibility from the street (vista to the Tigris), transportation services and amenities. The study proposed that the square should function as a plaza for the nearby future metro project,<sup>153</sup> and that this plaza would have a small fountain with an unspecified statue. Ironically, even the name of Al Ghurairi was omitted when naming the plaza in the redevelopment proposal and on the drawings; instead it was named 'CO2 Metro Station Plaza'. In addition, the proposal for the plaza recommended the following measures:

- Colonnaded arcades will be provided along the Rashid Street to strengthen the facade continuity and to realize a design taking into consideration the straight building line and regulated skyline.
- The only public open space along the Rashid Street, which is being used presently as a parking area, will be rearranged in the form of a plaza that will constitute the core of the development area, improving and strengthening as a consequence the only view corridor that opens the view of the Tigris River from the Rashid Street.
- Terrace decks provided with such amenity elements as restaurants, coffee shops, etc., will be arranged in the buildings at both sides of this plaza, in such a way to get a view from around the plaza.<sup>154</sup>

Indeed, such measures were essential for the redevelopment of the area, but it would not offer an apposite image for commemorating Abd al-Wahhab Al Ghurairi and celebrating the legend, Saddam. Thus, a new proposal for Al Ghurairi Square was made in AD 1987 by direct order from Saddam Hussein himself, and the project on the ground was completed in AD 1988.<sup>155</sup>

This project consisted of erecting an eight-metre-height statue of Abd al-Wahhab Al Ghurairi in the centre of the square, facing Al Rashid Street and carrying a machinegun. The statue's front face platform had a bronze engraved mural depicting General Qasim's bullet-riddled car encircled by the Ba'athist assassination team with

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<sup>153</sup> The whole Baghdad Metro Project was abandoned due to the acute financial situation resulted from the military conflict with Iran.

<sup>154</sup> Bianca and others, 'Synthesis Report', p. 47.

<sup>155</sup> Faiza Abid Al-Latif, 'A Statue of Living History', in *Al Rashid Street*, ed. by Basesm Abdul Amir Hamoudi (Beirut: Arab House for Encyclopaedias, 2004), pp. 118-21 (p. 119).

special emphasis on the ‘martyr’ (Abd al-Wahhab) and his injured comrade (Saddam). On the backside of the platform, the names of the team and the Ba'athist description of the event of 7 October 1959 were bronze-engraved.<sup>156</sup> Beyond a green space, the backside of statue is surrounded by a half-circle two-storey-building, which has a full height colonnade.<sup>157</sup>

Notwithstanding the fact that the project blocked the Tigris River’s direct accessibility from the Al Rashid Street, the gigantic scale of statue, the abrupt break of the street’s colonnade and the semi enclosure by the building behind, provided a unique monumental place in the street. The heritage making of the place and the mythical making of the national hero were complemented with Saddam’s visit to the square, a visit to aggrandize himself as a surviving hero celebrating his fallen comrade. Mythically, Saddam did not honour Al Ghurairi by laying flowers on the statue’s platform, but by attaching three military decoration medals on the chest of the statue as shown in figure 7.44.

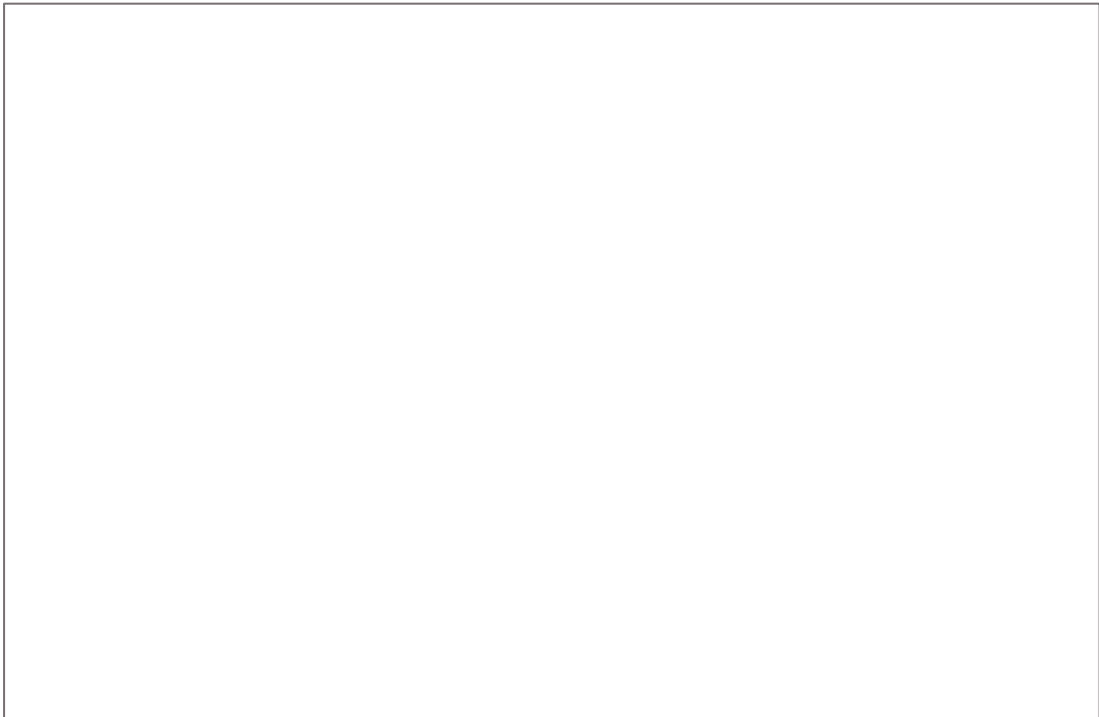


Figure 7.44: Saddam Hussein attaching three military decoration medals on the chest of Al Ghurairi statue.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid., pp. 118-21.

<sup>157</sup> The researcher own observation of the site.

<sup>158</sup> Baghdadi social media.





Figure 7.45: Al Ghurairi Square, a statue surrounded by a half-circle two-storey-building in Al Rashid Street.<sup>159</sup>

It is without doubt that Saddam Hussein had added a dramatic chapter to the heritage making of the street. However, after the regime change in April 2003, not only had Saddam become a nationally discredited political figure, but his Ba'athist comrades and those associated with the old political regime were as well. Thus, the significance of the square reverted to commemorate General Qasim. Such a dramatic change occurred in the aftermath of April 2003 when some Baghdadi people destroyed the Al Ghurairi Statue and named the place as Abd al-Karim Qasim Square.<sup>160</sup>

The vandalism of Al Ghurairi Statue was neither a unique nor a new practice confined to the Baghdadi context. The destruction of monuments and statues are a global

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<sup>159</sup> Adopted from Google Earth.

<sup>160</sup> Asharq Al-Awsat, *Iraqis Named a Square in Baghdad as Abd Al-Karim Qasim Square*, Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, (19 May 2003) <<https://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&issueno=8938&article=171642&feature=#.Xtuu9UVKjIV>> [Accessed 20 May 2018].

widespread practice occurring frequently after significant political events, including wars, revolutions, and liberations: for example, the destruction of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV in the aftermath of the French revolution in AD 1792,<sup>161</sup> and the demolition of numerous statues after the overthrow of the Italian Fascists and the German Nazis by the Allies in the Second World War. Those places with removed statues and monuments are considered places of an ‘absent heritage’ as termed by Rodney Harrison. He argues that these places ‘appear as a metaphor for defeat, re-enforcing absent parts of monuments and buildings as important “intangible” memorials in their own right’.<sup>162</sup>



Figure 7.46: The absent heritage of Al Ghurairi Square in May 2003, Al Ghurairi statue was destroyed and removed, meanwhile, a piece of fabric attached to the upper part of its platform with the name of Abd al-Karim Qasim written on it.<sup>163</sup>

The absent heritage of Al Ghurairi Square lasted only for around two years, and it ceased to exist once the Municipality of Baghdad put a new statue of General Qasim’s on the original platform of the destroyed Al Ghurairi’s statue in AD 2005, although this was coupled with keeping the original layout of the square and adjacent buildings intact. In addition, the Municipality officially changed the name of the square to be Abd al-Karim Qasim Square.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, the practice of ‘adaptive re-use of “bad” memories’<sup>165</sup> has made the contested heritage making and transformation of Al Ghurairi Square to be considered a unique practice, at least within the Baghdadi and Iraqi context. It is noteworthy that the new statue is noticeably smaller than the

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<sup>161</sup> Andrew McClellan, 'The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's Louis XV', *Oxford Art Journal*, 23 (2000), 3-27 (p. 3).

<sup>162</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 172-176.

<sup>163</sup> Baghdadi social media.

<sup>164</sup> Almada, 'Abd Al-Karim Qasim Instead of Al Ghurairi in Al Rashid Street', *Almada* 11 July 2005, p. 1.

<sup>165</sup> Tim Benton, 'Heritage and Changes of Regime', in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. by Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 126-63 (p. 127).

previous gigantic one. This makes the statute appears very humble in the middle of the square and therefore does not portray a glorious image of the ‘sole leader’ General Qasim.



Figure 7.47: Abd al-Karim Qasim’s statue in Abd al-Karim Qasim Square.<sup>166</sup>

### **Al Rashid Street Development Project 2009**

In the late 1980s, Al Rashid Street entered a state of rapid decline after being gradually excluded from the national narrative, as happened in the historic city core of Rusafa that it cuts through. Its physical condition was exacerbated further after the fall of Baghdad in AD 2003. Thus, as discussed in chapter 6, a notable number of academics, cultural institutions, and Baghdadi general public demanded the rehabilitation of Al Rashid Street after witnessing the success of the *Al Mutanabbi Street Development Project*.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Taken as part of this research survey.

<sup>167</sup> Adel al-Ardawi, 'Al Mutanabbi Is the Guardian of Al Mutanabbi Street', *Almada* 09 June 2008, p. 11.

Responding to that demand and attempting to emulate Al Mutanabbi's success, the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* was launched in AD 2009, and the Municipality of Baghdad awarded the project to an Iraqi consulting firm who collaborated with international specialist consultants. The project aimed to prepare a comprehensive structure plan of the area confined between Al Rashid Street and the Tigers River, balancing the urgent need for redevelopment on the one hand, while protecting and reinforcing the cultural heritage of what was left of the old Rusafa on the other. It is noteworthy that the *Rusafa Study of 1984* was the basis on which the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* was built on and departed from.<sup>168</sup>

That departure benefited from technological advancement in the fields of mapping and digital photography. The project utilised a Geographic Information System (GIS) in which an up-to-date high-resolution satellite image was layered with the previous outdated non-detailed base maps of Rusafa.<sup>169</sup> Such employment of technology ensured that the project would not only overcome the chronic feeble mapping and documentation of the city's fabric, but its survey would produce an accurate database of the urban and architectural conditions of the area as well. The comprehensive database covered land and building use, building heights, structural conditions, architectural styles, a historical building list, the architectural significance of historical and heritage buildings, ownership, and uses. In addition, all buildings along Al Rashid Street and the Tigers River were visually documented and digitalized.<sup>170</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the project's survey revealed that twenty seven percent of the buildings in Al Rashid Street were in poor or very poor physical condition, and thirty six percent were in acceptable structural condition - all of which needed an immediate intervention in terms of general repair and in restoring facades. In addition, the survey showed that the area's infrastructure had almost collapsed, and was therefore in urgent need to be rebuilt and upgraded to meet contemporary demands.<sup>171</sup> This clearly shows the effects of the accumulative neglect on the place since the late of 1980s.

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<sup>168</sup> Al Mimary Consulting Bureau, 'Al Rashid Street and the Area between it and the Tigers River Development Project: Comprehensive Architectural and Planning Report', (Baghdad: Mayoralty of Baghdad, 2009), pp. 12-13.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., pp. 50-55.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp. 84, 118.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., pp. 121, 171.

The project's conservation plan emphasised the need to protect the visual continuity of the buildings' facades along the street. The plan proposed five levels of intervention for the street's building: repair, restoration, completion of unfinished buildings, reconstruction, and reformation (modifying the buildings that not in harmony with the street's characteristics). Meanwhile, the plan proposed to infill the street's only six empty plots.<sup>172</sup>

Similar to the Urban Design plan of the *Rusafa Study of 1984*, the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* proposed the redevelopment of neglected focal areas in the street and expanded the list to include Al-Mirjaniya Square, Haiderkhana, and Maidan,<sup>173</sup> but excluded Al Ghurairi Square (Abd al-Karim Qasim Square). Apart from pedestrianizing the street, upgrading its street furniture, and deploying air-conditioned tram services to overcome the heat of Baghdad,<sup>174</sup> what has distinguished the project's urban design proposals from those of 1984 is the exploitation of the place memory; memories to make strolling in the street like walking in a living museum. Taghlib Al Waily, who was the project's lead architect and planner, states that:

The people of Baghdad, after all they have endured, deserve a historical city centre that is green, sustainable and full of memories and heritage, where one can enjoy an urban living room, a place to shop, be entertained, relax and do business.<sup>175</sup>

The project included two approaches to evoke the memory of the place. First, by installing new sculptures in the focal nodes to act as a reminder of what existed that symbolized what had been lost, as in the case of the city's two demolished gates: Bab al-Muadham Gate and Bab al-Sharqi Gate. Second, by the reconstruction of lost monuments and restoring their original form as was articulated in Al-Mirjaniya madrasa and the citadel walls.<sup>176-177</sup> Al Waily argues that:

It is through re-instating such monuments and symbols that we shall realize what many citizens of the city have already thought, to revitalize the areas and

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., pp. 121, 243-247.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., pp. 253-273.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., pp. 201, 207, 242.

<sup>175</sup> Taghlib Al Waily, 'Baghdad Historical City: How Its Past Can Revitalize Its Future', in *Transformation of the Urban Character of Arab Cities since the Late Last Century: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at German Jordanian University*, ed. by Mohsen Aboutorabi and Bushra Zalloom (Birmingham,; Birmingham City University (BCU publication), 2015), pp. 42-50 (p. 49).

<sup>176</sup> Taghlib Al Waily, 'Building Al Rasheed for the Future', in *Preservation and Rehabilitation of the Iraqi City Centers* (Baghdad: University of Baghdad, 2010).

<sup>177</sup> Al Mimary Consulting Bureau, pp. 253-273.

attract them to such celebrated places that provide them with pride and unite them. The city is full of memories.<sup>178</sup>

Indeed, relying on memories is essential in heritage making and protection of the place. The first approach of placing a symbolic reminder of the gates is relatively feasible to be implemented on the ground. While the latter approach could not only generate a debate pertaining to the '*difficulty (impossibility?) of achieving authenticity*'<sup>179</sup> and avoiding conjecture,<sup>180</sup> but could ignite a lengthy litigation between the Iraqi Ministry of Defence and the Municipality of Baghdad, since the lost walls of the citadel were situated within the premises of the former. Being a landlord, the ministry would prevent the reconstruction of the walls, or would permit it, but would restrict the access of general public to the walls afterwards under the pretext of security, therefore making the reconstruction futile in terms of evoking the memory of the place.

Another aspect pertaining to dealing with the memory of the place needs to be considered; memory varies individually (individuals have different personal memories) and socially (collective memory differs from one group to another), therefore which memory should be captured to produce a tangible heritage and by whom? The project's lead architect and planner states that:

Memory is the spirit of the city and every person has a morphological memory of its places. I relied primarily on my own personal memory of the place, a memory augmented by gleaning the major historic events associated with Al Rashid Street from literature and a few interviews with historians.<sup>181</sup>

This statement directs the debate towards the *authorized heritage discourse* in terms of authority of expertise in determining what should be selected and protected for future generations. Laurajane Smith argues that:

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<sup>178</sup> Taghlib Al Waily, 'Baghdad Historical City: How Its Past Can Revitalize Its Future', pp. 42-50 (p. 48).

<sup>179</sup> Nicholas Stanley-Price, 'The Reconstruction of Ruins: Principles and Practice', in *Conservation Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, ed. by Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, in Association with the Victoria and Albert Museum London, 2009), pp. 32-46 (p. 37).

<sup>180</sup> Please see the debate against reconstruction practices without sufficient evidence in chapter 4, Abbasid Palace: Third Stage of Intervention (AD 1969-1975).

<sup>181</sup> The lead architect and planner of Al Rashid Street Development Project, 'Al Rashid Street Development Project', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2016).

It is architects, historians and archaeologists who act as stewards for the past, so that present and future publics may be properly educated and informed about its significance.<sup>182</sup>

The authority of expertise in the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* is explicit as well, as Al Waily comments that:

The development plan is a testimony to Baghdad's history, reproduced and rewritten for generations to cherish their past and confirm their identity.<sup>183</sup>

Consequently, the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* has represented one version of memory, heritage, and identity in a pluralised place; and has made Ashworth and Graham's argument that 'official heritage often remains stubbornly in the singular'<sup>184</sup> applicable in the Baghdadi context. Despite this criticism, the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* was the first project to focus on and adopt memories of place in the Baghdadi context.

Moreover, since securing funding is considered one of the crucial requirements in implementing conservation and redevelopment projects, the project was the first in the Baghdadi context to deal with the issue of financing. Influenced by the Lebanese model of development and reconstruction of Beirut Central District after the 1975-1990 Lebanon civil war, the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* proposed setting up the Al Rashid Property Development Company (a joint-stock company almost identical to Solidere, The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District). The proposed company would have two types of shareholders: Al Rashid area's landlords whose share would be equivalent to the estimated value of their properties, and investors whose share would be determined based on cash injection to fund the project. The company's manifold roles would range from funding and managing the area's infrastructure, cooperating with the private and public sector to implement the urban and conservation plan, and as property owner

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<sup>182</sup> Laura Jane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 30.

<sup>183</sup> Taghlib Al Waily, 'Baghdad Historical City: How Its Past Can Revitalize Its Future', pp. 42-50 (p. 49).

<sup>184</sup> G.J. Ashworth, B.J. Graham, and J.E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), p. 71.

and manager in terms of renting and maintaining Al Rashid's properties after completing the project.<sup>185-186</sup>

However, overcoming the funding barrier to use heritage as a mere cultural and economic resource was not sufficient for the *Al Rashid Street Development Project* to be executed. It is the political will that provides heritage projects in Baghdad the driving force for implementation. Without being incorporated into the national narrative, political agenda, or governing ideologies, heritage projects end up sitting on the Municipality's shelves.

The continuous lack of the political will in restoring the city of Harun al-Rashid's lost legacy has been intensified by the emergence of a new political system after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in 2003, the rise of sectarian religious identities, and ultimately the succumbing of Iraqi politics to 'Islamic fundamentalism'.<sup>187</sup> Eric Davis, a Professor of Political Science who specializes in the politics of Iraq and the Middle East, argues that:

The manner in which the Bush administration constructed the IGC [the Iraqi Governing Council] sent a message to all Iraq's major political actors and organizations that sectarian-based politics was the new order of the day.<sup>188</sup>

This led to a burgeoning of sectarianism, political violence and corruption. Such a brutal combination orchestrated by the Iraqi political actors has suppressed the attempt of academics, cultural institutions, and the Baghdadi general public to incorporate their cultural identity in the national narrative. Davis reports that:

The great tragedy of post-2003 Iraq remains the contradiction between the commitment of large numbers of Iraqis to democracy and tolerance in the face of a political leadership that continues to allow, if not actively promote, the spread of sectarianism, corruption, and politically inspired violence.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Al Mimary Consulting Bureau, pp. 281-283, 289-291.

<sup>186</sup> Solidere, *Overview, Role, Legal Structure*, Solidere: The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District, (2020) <<https://www.solidere.com/corporate/about>> [Accessed 15 March 2020].

<sup>187</sup> Eric Davis, 'Reflections on Religion and Politics in Post-Ba'athist Iraq', *Newsletter of the American Academic Research Institute in Iraq (TAARII)* (Spring 2008), 13-15 (p. 13).

<sup>188</sup> Eric Davis, 'Iraq', in *The Modern Middle East*, ed. by Ellen Lust-Okar (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010), pp. 437-59 (p. 452).

<sup>189</sup> Eric Davis, 'The Formation of Political Identities in Ethnically Divided Societies: Implications for a Democratic Transition in Iraq', *Newsletter of the American Academic Research Institute in Iraq (TAARII)* (Spring 2007), 3-4 (p. 4).



Thus, Babylonian, Sumerian, Arab, and even universal Islamic identity have been overridden through the promotion of sectarian religious identity. Since Al Rashid Street lacks the characteristics to represent such identity, the Iraqi political actors have excluded any potential employment of the street in the new national narrative.

### **The Reconstruction of Al-Mirjaniya**

Once the construction of the new Iraqi National Museum was completed in AD 1963, a sizable amount of Al-Mirjaniya's salvaged inscriptions, ornamentations and carved brickwork were transferred from the so-called Abbasid Palace to the new museum. Some panels of splendid carved brickwork were exhibited in the Islamic Hall, while the rest of the salvaged remains was kept in cabinets in the storage area of the new museum.<sup>190</sup> Architecturally, Al-Mirjaniya's salvaged materials were transformed from being an inseparable part of the original madrasa mosque to constituting a significant part of the Islamic collection exhibited in the national museum.

Figure 7.48: Al-Mirjaniya's salvaged ornamentations in the Islamic Hall at the Iraqi National Museum prior to April 2003.<sup>191</sup>

Unfortunately, the Iraqi National Museum was subject to an immediate organized looting and savage destruction of antiquities during and in the aftermath of the invasion of Iraq on 9 April 2003. It is estimated that approximately 15 thousand antiquities (5 thousands of which were rare valuable seals) were stolen from this museum alone in the period from 7 to 12 April 2003.<sup>192</sup> Fortunately, albeit damaged

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<sup>190</sup> Sadiq al-Hasani, 'Projects and Works of the General Directorate of Antiquities since 1963', *Sumer, A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq (Arabic Section)*, XIX (1963), 198-218 (pp. 199, 202).

<sup>191</sup> From the archives of Yasser Tabbaa.

<sup>192</sup> The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, *About the Museum*, The official website of the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, (<<http://www.iraqmuseum.org/pages/aboutthemuseum/>> [Accessed 15 October 2016].

and partly lost, Al-Mirjaniya's fragments survived and are included under the section of 'Architecture and furniture fragments: plaster, wall painted, tiles, decorated bricks, wood', in the *Emergency Red List of Iraqi Antiquities At Risk*, which was issued by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) on 7 May 2003.<sup>193</sup>

After the tragedy of the looting of the museum it was closed, the damaged antiquities restored, and the exhibition halls were repaired and developed by the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage's international partners generally and Italy in particular.<sup>194</sup>  
<sup>195</sup> The statement that 'In Iraq archaeology speaks Italian'<sup>196</sup> has emerged from the close ties of economic and cultural collaboration between Iraq and Italy which culminated in ratifying a Scientific and Cultural Cooperation Agreement between the two countries in AD 1967.<sup>197</sup> The agreement facilitated the establishment of two joint institutes in Baghdad in AD 1969: The Iraqi-Italian Institute of Archaeological Science and the Iraqi-Italian Centre for the Restoration of Monuments, both of which have been managed by the *Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino* in Italy. The two institutes have greatly engaged in Iraq in terms of studying, surveying, and restoring archaeological sites in Ctesiphon, Babylon, Aqar Quf, Mousl, Anah and Baghdad.<sup>198</sup> In addition, they were responsible in conducting *The Study and Documentation of Islamic Monuments of Baghdad* in AD 1971,<sup>199</sup> in which the ancient standing remains of Al-Mirjaniya (the entrance and the minaret) were documented.

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<sup>193</sup> International Council of Museums, 'Emergency Red List of Iraqi Antiquities at Risk', (Interpol headquarters in Lyons, France: International Council of Museums (ICOM) 7 May 2003).

<sup>194</sup> The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, 'About the Museum'.

<sup>195</sup> The Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, *The Iraq Museum in Baghdad*, The Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, (<<http://www.centroscaivitorino.it/eng/index.php/safeguard-cultural-heritage/the-iraq-museum-in-baghdad>> [Accessed 28 September 2016].

<sup>196</sup> Italia Chiama Italia, *Italians Abroad, Winning the Italian Archeology Iraq*, Italia Chiama Italia, (16 December 2013) <<http://www.italiachiamaitalia.it/italianiall%e2%80%99esterol%e2%80%99archeologiaitalianaconquistal%e2%80%99iraq/>> [Accessed 28 September 2016].

<sup>197</sup> 'The Iraqi Law No. 87, the Ratification of the Scientific and Cultural Cooperation Agreement between the Republic of Iraq and the Republic of Italy', (Baghdad: Aelloukee Al Iraqia 1967).

<sup>198</sup> The Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, *The Iraqi-Italian Institute of Archaeological Sciences and the Iraqi-Italian Centre for the Restoration of Monuments in Baghdad*, The Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, (<<http://www.centroscaivitorino.it/eng/index.php/safeguard-cultural-heritage/the-iraqi-italian-institute-of-archaeological-sciences-and-of-the-iraqi-italian-centre-for-the-restoration-of-monuments-in-baghdad>> [Accessed 28 September 2016].

<sup>199</sup> The Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, *The Activities of the Iraqi-Italian Institutes in Baghdad*, The Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, (<<http://www.centroscaivitorino.it/eng/index.php/safeguard-cultural-heritage/the-activities-of-the-iraqi-italian-institutes-in-baghdad>> [Accessed 28 September 2016].

Thus, the main activities of the Iraqi-Italian partnership have concentrated in the field of archaeology and ancient remains of the past.

Fully funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a two-stage plan for repairing and developing the Islamic Hall in the Iraqi National Museum was submitted by *Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino* to the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in the summer of 2003. In the first stage (AD 2004 to AD 2008),<sup>200</sup> new partition walls were placed to display the full set of Islamic architectural pieces based on chronological and geographical themes. Due to its significance and abundance, Al-Mirjaniya's panels of splendid carved brickwork had multiple partitions in the Islamic hall.<sup>201</sup> According to *Monumenta Orientalia*,<sup>202</sup> the second stage (started in AD 2011 and completed in AD 2017) involved the 'reconstruction' of Al-Mirjaniya's *musalla* (Al-Mirjaniya Hall) in the courtyard of the Iraqi national Museum, moving Al-Mirjaniya's panels of splendid carved brickwork to the new hall to be displayed exactly as they were in the original *musalla* setting. The new hall has been enriched by receiving the little amount of Al-Mirjaniya's salvaged inscriptions, ornamentations and carved brickwork that were left forgotten at the so-called Abbasid Place. Roberto Parapetti, an Italian architect who introduced the concept and supervised the project, reports that:

A new, more accurate arrangement of the fragments in a new structure was envisaged based on the available documentation. Once it was connected directly to the museum adjacent [the] Islamic Gallery, the secondary north court proved to be the most suitable place to put the reconstructed *musalla* room.

A metal structure, with the size and shape of the interior of the lost original *musalla*, was built. The façade of the new room was intending [intended] to give the visitor entering through the new opening in the Islamic hall the impression to be standing inside the courtyard of the old madrasa and about to enter the prayer room. A replica of the colonnaded portico added in the 19th century to the *musalla* courtyard side was then constructed to create a transition zone between the current Islamic hall and the new room. The two doors on both sides of the façade, while not functional to the

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<sup>200</sup> *Monumenta Orientalia, Project: Reconstruction of Baghdad Iraqi Museum. The Prayer Hall of Al-Mirjaniya Madrasah*, *Monumenta Orientalia*, (<[http://www.monumentaorientalia.com/#!\\_\\_iraq-engl](http://www.monumentaorientalia.com/#!__iraq-engl)> [Accessed 28 September 2016].

<sup>201</sup> Roberto Parapetti, 'The Contribution of the Centro Scavi Di Torino to the Reconstruction of Iraqi Antiquities', in *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*, ed. by Peter G. Stone and Joanne Farchakh Bajjalj (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 229-34 (p. 232).

<sup>202</sup> The *Monumenta Orientalia* supervised the second stage, it was founded in 2008 under the leadership of the architect Roberto Parapetti, who was the director of the Italian-Iraqi Centre for the Restoration of Monuments. He is a UNESCO expert for the reconstruction of the cultural heritage of Iraq and a member of UNESCO's international coordination committee for the Safeguard of the Cultural Heritage of Iraq.

*musalla*, originally gave access to the upper floor and defined the 21 m width of the courtyard; now they give access to new rooms for displaying further pertinent fragmentary brickworks and inscriptions discovered in the museum storage areas. The interior surfaces are made of mesh panelling finished in plaster. The fragments of brickwork decoration have now been replaced in their correct position. The outside part, facing on the secondary service courtyard, is thus simply made of plain surfaces with no architectural design.<sup>203</sup>

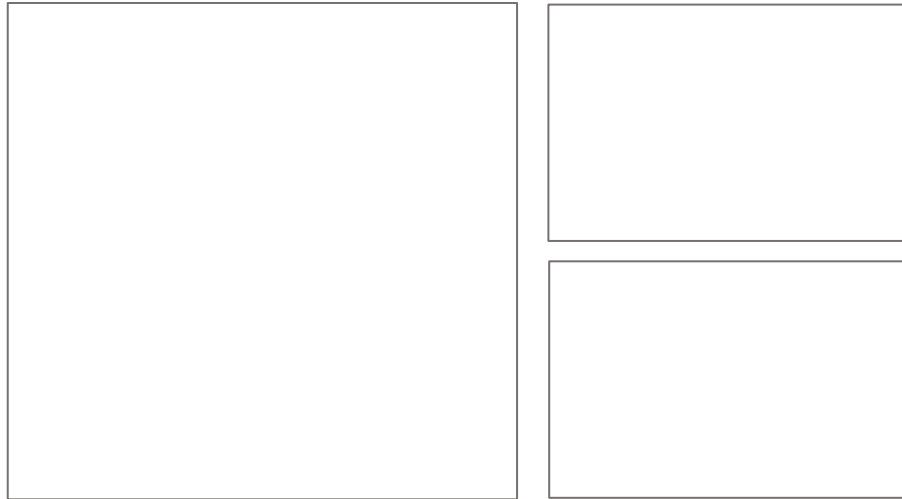


Figure 7.49-7.51: Al-Mirjaniya's little salvaged material that was almost forgotten at the so-called Abbasid Place.<sup>204</sup>

The reconstruction of Al-Mirjaniya's *musalla* has produced an abstract replica of the lost *musalla*'s interior in terms of 'making of precise reproductions in the same dimensions as the original'.<sup>205</sup> The replica was then decorated by placing some of the original carved brickwork, as a form of anastylosis more often applied to ceramics. The reconstruction has met high standards of contemporary conservation practice, especially pertaining to the reversibility as described by The Appleton Charter:

The use of reversible processes is always to be preferred to allow the widest options for future development or the correction of unforeseen problems, or where the integrity of the resource could be affected.<sup>206</sup>

Furthermore, good documentation practice, avoiding conjecture, and distinguishability of the new work have been achieved. Nonetheless, the project engenders three controversial points associated with the place. First, since the replica

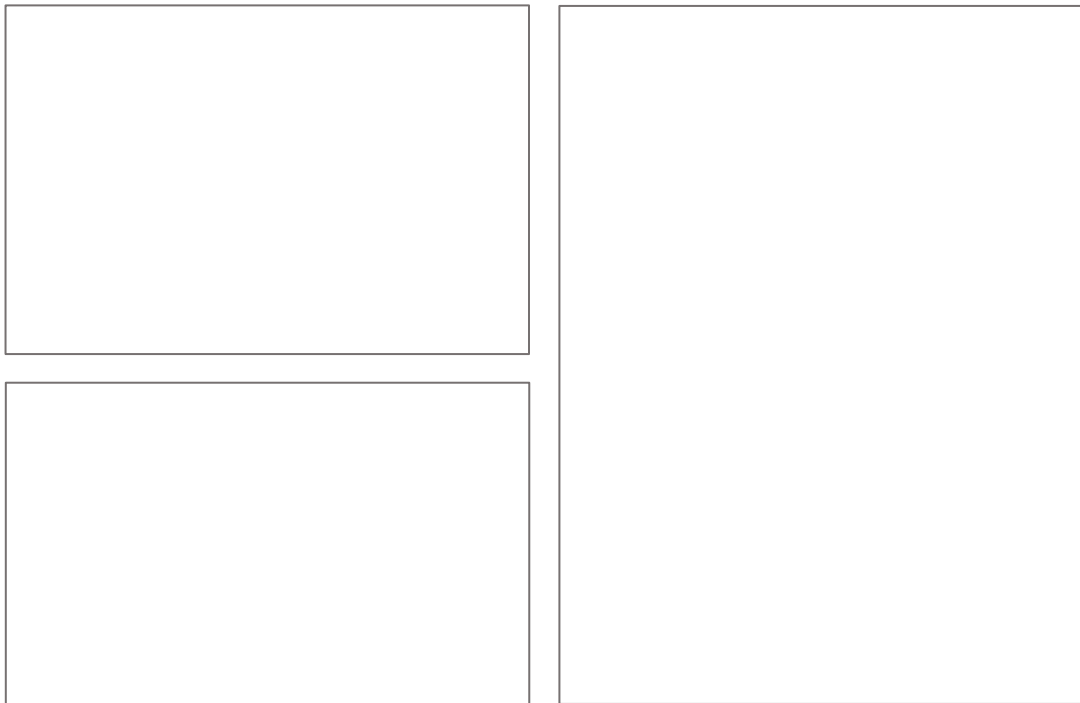
<sup>203</sup> Roberto Parapetti, 'The Lost Mirjaniya Madrasa of Baghdad: Reconstructions and Additional Notes', *Mesopotamia, Journal of Archaeology, Epigraphy and History of the Ancient Near East*, LII (2017), 173-211 (p. 173).

<sup>204</sup> *Monumenta Orientalia*.

<sup>205</sup> Getty Research Institute, *Art & Architecture Thesaurus Full Record Display (Getty Research)*, Getty Research Institute, (<<http://vocab.getty.edu/page/aat/300226175>> [Accessed 12 March 2020]).

<sup>206</sup> ICOMOS Canada, *The Appleton Charter: Appleton Charter for the Protection and Enhancement of the Built Environment* (Ottawa, Canada: ICOMOS Canada, 1983).

was constructed in a totally different setting, it lacks the spatial relationships with the other architectural parts of Al-Mirjaniya on the one hand, and lacks the spatial relationships with the traditional urban components such as *suqs*, shops, and alleyways on the other hand. Second, constructing a solid bulky box in the courtyard has harmed the overall plan<sup>207</sup> of the national museum. Third, given the fact that the project sits within the field of museology in terms of arranging and displaying exhibits, the replica offers an optimum display. However, a holistic approach to deal with the fragments of Al-Mirjaniya has been missed, as the fragments are scattered in the new *musalla* adjacent to the original site, in the replica, and in the stores of the Iraqi National Museum.



Left up: Figure 7.52: The courtyard of the Iraqi National Museum.

Right: Figure 7.53: The metal structure of Al-Mirjaniya *musalla*'s replica.<sup>208</sup>

Right down: Figure 7.54: A solid bulky box in the courtyard of the Iraqi National Museum.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> The Iraqi National Museum was design by the German architect Prof. Werner March in AD 1932, but the construction work started in AD 1957.

<sup>208</sup> Monumenta Orientalia.

<sup>209</sup> Roberto Parapetti, 'The Lost Mirjaniya Madrasa of Baghdad: Reconstructions and Additional Notes', pp. 173-211 (p. 206).

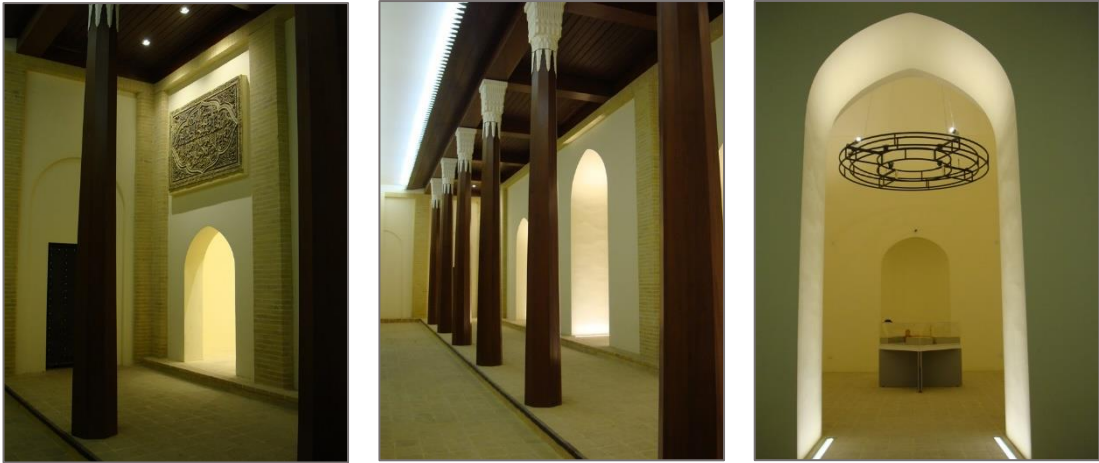


Figure 7.55-7.57: The transition zone between the Islamic Hall and Al-Mirjaniya Hall in the Iraqi National Museum.<sup>210</sup>



Figure 7.58-7.62: Al-Mirjaniya Hall in the Iraqi National Museum.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Taken by Dr Saba Sami Al-Ali as requested by the author.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

This reconstruction poses the question why was the *musalla* not reconstructed in its original setting by using an anastylosis approach or as a replica with all original fragments replaced? The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage was under pressure to restore and reopen the destroyed museum by adding a new hall instead of moving back significant parts of its Islamic collection to the original setting in Al Rashid Street. Parapetti states that the Al-Mirjaniya Hall ‘project, which was welcomed, represented an effort to continue the renovation of the National Archaeological Museum of Iraq’.<sup>212</sup> In addition, the director of the Italian-Iraqi Centre for the Restoration of Monuments comments that ‘the original site in Al Rashid Street is not suitable at the moment to reconstruct Al-Mirjaniya due to congestion and eyesore’.<sup>213</sup>

In contrast to the al-Mirjaniya Hall, which had a ceremonial opening by the Iraqi Ministry of Culture, the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, and several diplomatic delegates,<sup>214</sup> the only standing remains of Al-Mirjaniya in Al Rashid Street were severely neglected, lacking regular maintenance, flooded by rainwater, and ending up as a place for fly-tipping. This clearly shows that the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage defines and values heritage primarily as relics from the past exhibited in museums and not as architectural monuments associated with the memory of the place.

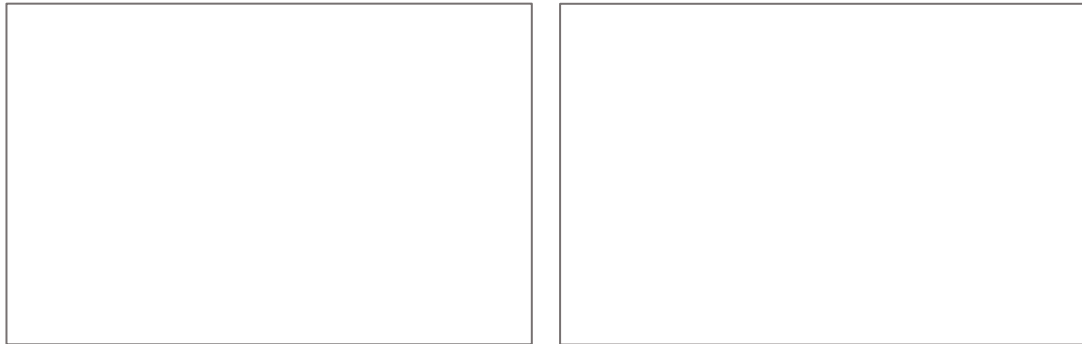


Figure 7.63-7.64: Ceremonial opening of al-Mirjaniya Hall in the Iraqi National Museum.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Roberto Parapetti, 'The Lost Mirjaniya Madrasa of Baghdad: Reconstructions and Additional Notes', pp. 173-211 (p. 173).

<sup>213</sup> The director of the Italian-Iraqi Centre for the Restoration of Monuments, 'The Reconstruction of Al-Mirjaniya at the Iraqi National Museum', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2016).

<sup>214</sup> Falah Hassan Shaker, *The Opening of Al-Mirjaniya Hall in the Iraqi National Museum Intensifies the Historical Value of Baghdad*, Ankawa, (29 September 2017) <<https://ankawa.com/forum/index.php?topic=854908.0>> [Accessed 30 January 2020].

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

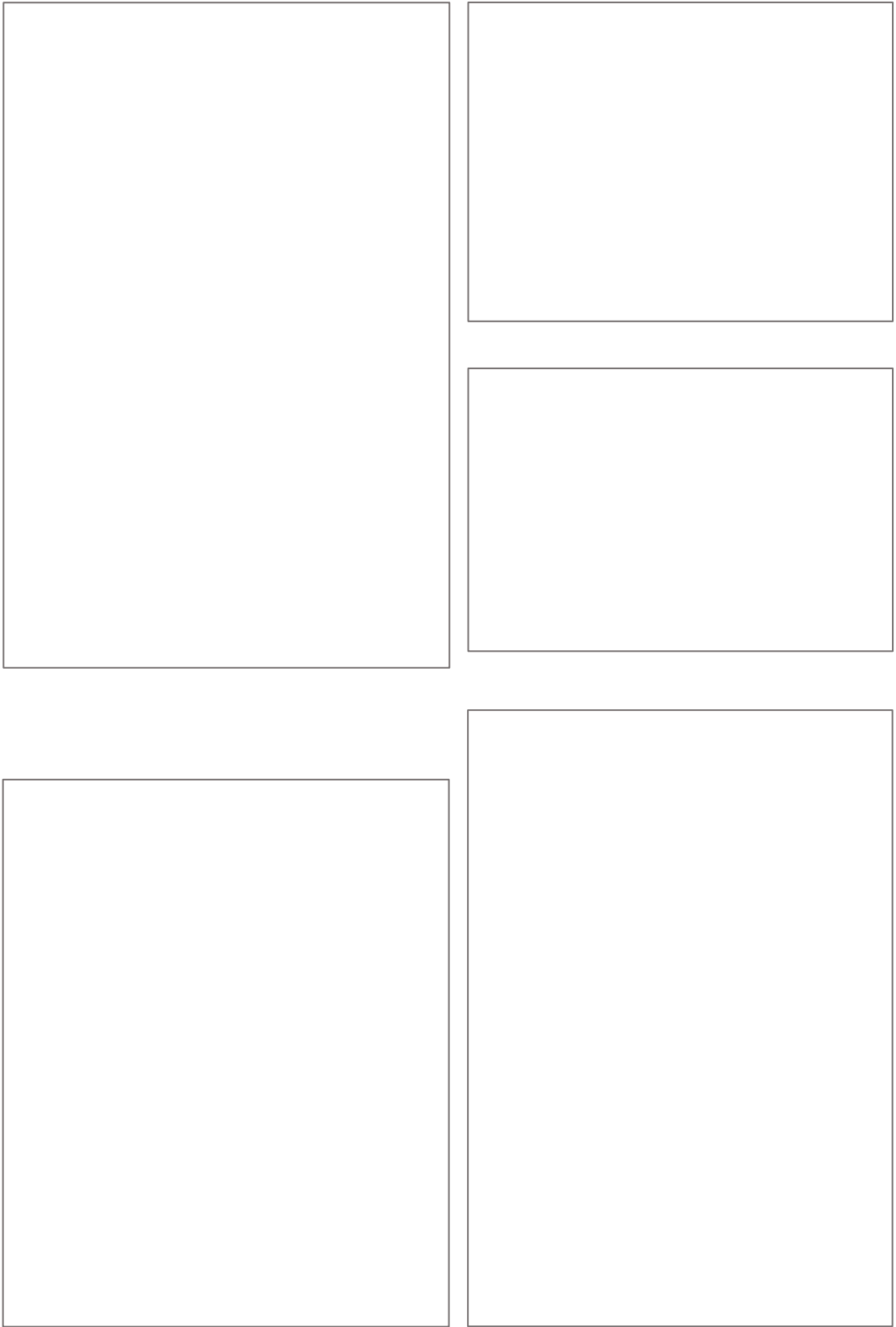


Figure 7.65-7.69: The state of negligence in Al Rashid Street and Al-Mirjaniya's madrasa mosque.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Rageeb Amoori social media page and Baghdadi social media.



Given the fact that the minaret and the gate are still part of the new mosque which is managed by the *Awqaf*, the *Awqaf* shares responsibility for conducting such essential maintenance if not at constitutional level, then ethically and morally by virtue that the mosque conveys a significant religious and symbolic value. The head of the Engineering Department at the *Awqaf* declared however that since the minaret and the gate are ancient, they are owned and managed by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, and therefore only the new *musalla*, and the tombing of the Mirjan are under the management and jurisdiction of *awqaf*. He claims that several reports were sent to the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage requesting they conduct essential maintenance of the gate and minaret, and despite receiving confirmation that such maintenance would be conducted on specific dates, nothing has been achieved on the ground.<sup>217</sup>

However, that does not absolve the *Awqaf* at an ethical and moral level, as even basic regular cleaning was not conducted by the *Awqaf* (something that could be done by the mosque's servant for example) and consequently this has undermined the status of the mosque as a religious symbol.

The narrative of al-Mirjaniya manifests the lack of coordination and the absence of cooperation between the Municipality of Baghdad, the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, and *Awqaf* in saving Baghdadi cultural heritage. Both the Municipality of Baghdad (via *Al Rashid Street Development Project 2009*) and the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage (via the Italians) proposed the reconstruction of al-Mirjaniya *musalla* at two different places without consulting each other. Meanwhile the *Awqaf* and the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage have been shifting responsibilities in terms of conducting basic maintenance.

It is crucial to employ a holistic approach in valuing and protecting the significance of al-Mirjaniya, not just dealing with it as relics exhibited in the museum, but by protecting the surviving architectural remains of the original site. By not doing so, the loss of the entrance and the minaret is inevitable, subsequently their inscriptions will be dismantled and exhibited with the rest of the fragments. As well as highly valuing the significance of the inscriptions after the loss of their original place and creating a

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<sup>217</sup> Head of the Engineering Department at the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, 'Heritage Mosques in Rusafa', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2015).

replica to simulate their physical context, the significance of the entrance and the minaret needs to be considered at least as important as those located in the national museum. This consolidates the heritage of al-Mirjaniya and consequently Al Rashid Street as well.

### **Al Rashid Street's Rehabilitation dilemma, Between Volunteering Initiatives and the Municipality of Baghdad's Negligence**

Since Al Rashid Street was left neglected by the heritage authorities in Baghdad, the Baghdadi volunteering community – inspired by the significance of the street in reflecting their civic identity and driven by the perception of the Municipality of Baghdad's incapability in protecting it – started a volunteering initiative to rehabilitate the street in April 2015.<sup>218</sup> What has made this initiative unique in the Baghdadi context is that it has departed from previous public campaigns' mere criticism and condemnation of the street's official negligence to take practical steps towards the rehabilitation of Al Rashid Street.

Organized by the Lugal Foundation,<sup>219</sup> a group of volunteers submitted a proposal to the Municipality of Baghdad to clean, repair, and paint all of the columns in Al Rashid Street. All necessary work and expenses would be undertaken and covered by the volunteers. After obtaining an initial approval from the municipality, the volunteers realized that confining their initiative to the street's colonnades and leaving the street's facades in poor condition would worsen the overall scene of the street.<sup>220</sup> Inevitably, expanding the initiative's limits was going to require substantial financial resources.

To overcome the financial barrier, the Lugal foundation reached an agreement with the Iraqi Private Banks League and the Iraqi Businessmen Association to sponsor the rehabilitation of a few buildings' facades in Al Rashid Street. In return for their sponsorship, they received an acknowledgment of their contributions in saving the heritage of Baghdad and consequently subliminal advertising and greater business exposure.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Lugal Foundation's manger, 'Al Rashid Street Volunteering Initiatives', ed. by Mohamad Al Taha (2017).

<sup>219</sup> Lugal Foundation is a non-governmental organisation for economic redevelopment based in Baghdad.

<sup>220</sup> Lugal Foundation's manger.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

After a lengthy negotiation process (involving the Lugal Foundation, the Iraqi Council of Ministers, the Municipality of Baghdad, and the Iraqi Central Bank), a new abstract proposal was approved, by which, the Lugal Foundation's volunteers undertook and supervised the rehabilitation of the buildings' facades in the street. Different from the previous proposal, the volunteers acted as managers hiring and supervising labourers to execute the work, and as coordinators between the Municipality of Baghdad, the sponsors, and the buildings' landlords. With respect to the Municipality of Baghdad, there was a strong motive to delegate the rehabilitation task to an external organization in order to shift its failure in protecting the street and consequently avoiding public criticism. Meanwhile, the landlords were very welcoming, since the rehabilitation cost was covered by the sponsors and the bureaucratic administrative task was undertaken by the Lugal Foundation.<sup>222</sup>

The volunteers' forty-five day project started on the ground in November 2015. Four buildings (three of which are listed heritage buildings and the fourth is a new building constructed after 2011) were identified and selected for rehabilitation based on three factors. First, the degree of intervention; the four buildings needed the least amount of rehabilitation work by comparison with the rest of the street's buildings, which obviated the need for many skilled craftsmen, which made the work faster, and therefore reduced the overall cost. Second, continuity and eclecticism; the four attached buildings constitute a continuous section of the street with approximately the same heights, but differ in their styles. That has made each of them a sample representing the larger group of buildings of the same style in the street. The rehabilitation of those samples formed a pilot experiment for a future wider implementation of the project. Third, location; the four buildings are situated in the quietest part of Al Rashid Street (in the Sinak Zone, the furthest away from the congested traditional *suqs* area), making the project less difficult to be executed on the one hand, and making the outcomes of only four building's rehabilitation extremely noticeable on the other.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.



Figure 7.70: The four selected buildings for rehabilitation in Al Rashid Street.<sup>224</sup>

The selection of these specific four buildings eliminated a plethora of technical challenges and offered a quick way to demonstrate the volunteers' ability in making a notable change in the street, and therefore would assist in obtaining a bigger financial support to expand the rehabilitation to the other buildings in the street.<sup>225</sup>

Despite the volunteers' good intention and enthusiasm, solid and accredited conservation and architectural professional practices were absent in this project. Since none of the volunteers was an architect (the majority of the volunteering team is specialised in economic development), the work was executed immediately on the ground without producing detailed plans and specifications for the rehabilitation or submitting a set of drawings for approval as the municipality regulations necessitated. Neither did the volunteers revisit the municipality's two previous visual documentations of the street (Rusafa Study of 1984 and Al Rashid Street Development Project 2009) or any historical photos of the buildings, or consult the Rusafa Study's approved detailed protective and corrective measures for every building in the street. Meanwhile, the only instruction provided by the Heritage Department at the Municipality of Baghdad was that the overall form of the four buildings should not be altered.<sup>226</sup> However, it is not the volunteers that should be criticised in this project, but the Municipality of Baghdad for allowing a conservation project to be implemented in the heart of Baghdad's historic core without an architect or heritage expert on board. In addition, it again demonstrates the lack of a rigorous mechanism to review projects prior to approval and feeble supervision practices during implementation.

The volunteers endeavoured to mitigate the absence of a trained conservation architect or heritage expert by using their own instincts, conjecture, transferable skills, and

<sup>224</sup> The archives of the Municipality of Baghdad, adopted from the visual documentation of *Al Rashid Street Development Project 2009*.

<sup>225</sup> Lugal Foundation's manger.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

general life experience formed by visiting heritage buildings in other countries.<sup>227</sup> Nonetheless, the volunteers' rehabilitation process had some relevant connection with conservation process (project identification, planning, implementation, maintenance and protection),<sup>228</sup> and ethics.

With respect to the project identification, in addition to the three factors used for identifying the four buildings discussed earlier, a file was made for every building which included current and previous functions and landlords, photographic documentation of its existing condition. Regarding the planning phase, this covered rehabilitation cost estimating, securing approval from the municipality (without submitting a single drawing), selecting the implementation team, and producing a very basic AutoCAD drawing of the facades in order to complete the lost parts of the four buildings – for example, balconies, decorations, handrails, etc. – based solely on the implementation team's conjecture and imagination.<sup>229</sup>

The implementation phase led to decision-making taking place on site due to the absence of detailed plans that should have been produced in the planning phase. The sequence of execution was the removal of eclectic wires, signs and any additions that distorted the buildings' facades; cleaning the facades, removing the patina and previous paint layers by using sand papers to the point of exposing the original surface of the bricks; repairing some of the exposed bricks; restoring the missing decoration, wooden and metal elements; replacing the original transparent glass by mirrored glazing; and finally painting by introducing a new colour scheme. These stages were complemented by photographic documentation.<sup>230</sup> It is noteworthy that by omitting the maintenance and protection phase, the buildings started an immediate gradual return to the previous state of negligence once the project had completed. Thus, the long-term benefit of conducting this project is minuscule.

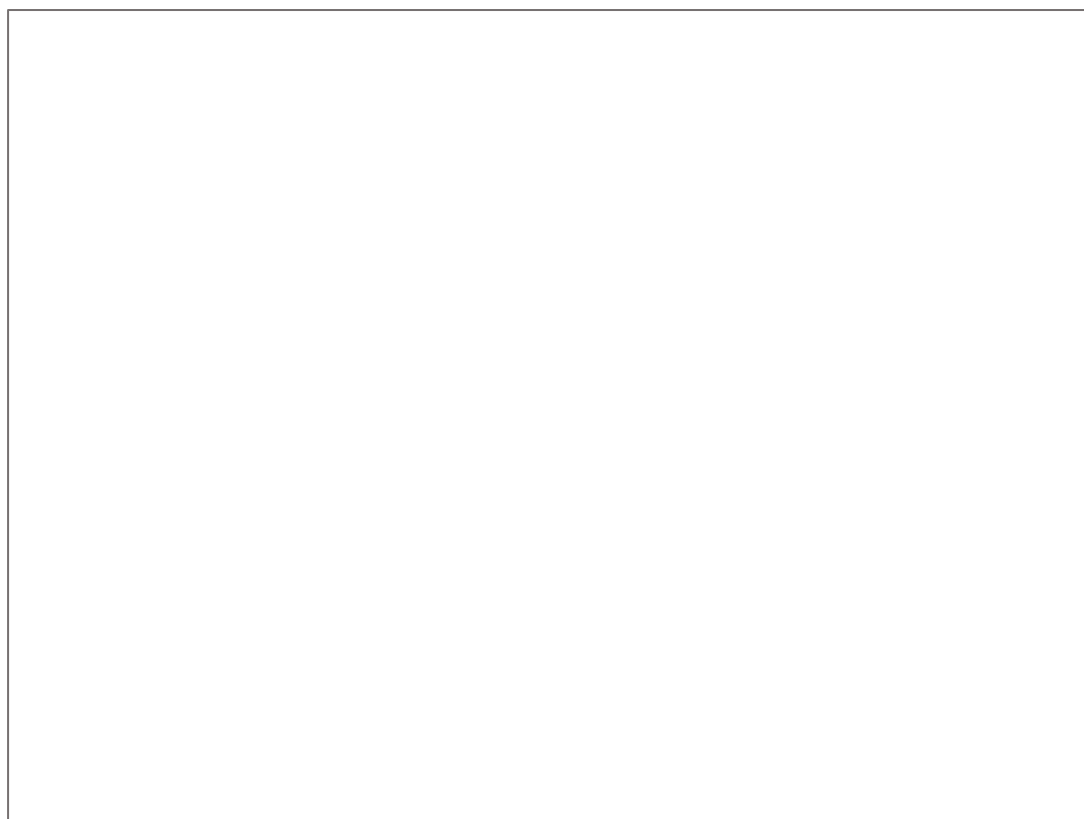
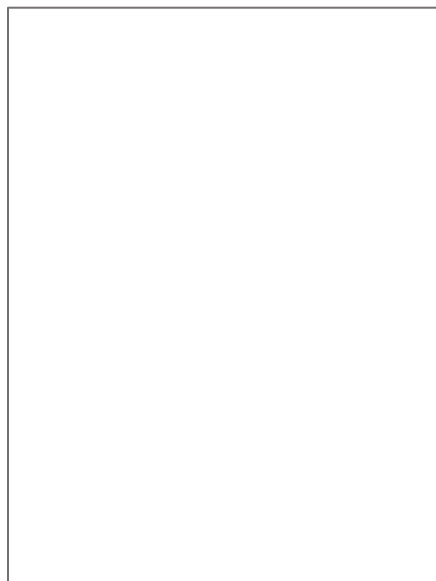
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<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> John H. Stubbs, *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation: Parameters, Theory, & Evolution of an Ethos* (Hoboken, N.J.: Chichester: John Wiley, 2009), pp. 145-146.

<sup>229</sup> Lugal Foundation's manger.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.



Right: Figure 7.71: A building prior to the rehabilitation in Al Rashid Street.<sup>231</sup>

Left: Figure 7.72: A building during the rehabilitation in Al Rashid Street.<sup>232</sup>

Down: Figure 7.73: The four selected buildings after the rehabilitation in Al Rashid Street.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> The archives of the Municipality of Baghdad, adopted from the visual documentation of *Al Rashid Street Development Project 2009*.

<sup>232</sup> Lugal Foundation, *Photo Gallery*, Lugal Foundation, (2016) <<http://lugalfound.org/792/>> [Accessed 8 November 2016].

<sup>233</sup> Baghdadi social media.

Apart from the glazing and the new colour scheme, the volunteers' rehabilitation approach was based on restoring the four buildings, albeit not based on concrete evidence, to their original condition. The use of mirrored glazing in the facades of the upper floors was justified because of their exist function; as the warehouses have not been kept in good order and if exposed by clear glazing would have had a detrimental effect on the area. According to the Lugal Foundation's manager:

The installation of mirrored glazing is temporary, it blocks the view of the warehouses' cluttered environment from the street, but once the function is changed, a transparent glazing will be installed.<sup>234</sup>

It is without doubt that this material improvement situation is reversible and in line with contemporary conservation ethics.

The deployment of warm bright colours was aimed to make the four buildings dominate the neglected surroundings, to make the volunteers' intervention very noticeable, and therefore to obtain further sponsorships. However, the selection of such colour tones was not only an unsuccessful endeavour, but exposed the lack of expertise as well. The four buildings appear very conspicuous and incongruous within the streetscape. The Lugal Foundation's manager admits this 'error' and comments that

the selection of colours was based on a painting catalogue illustrated with buildings' photos from Western Europe, both colours and tones in the catalogue appear far less bright than that in Al Rashid Street setting. The reason for this substantial variation is that Al Rashid's buildings are exposed to a higher intensity of sunlight than those in Western Europe. This error will be avoided in the future rehabilitation of the street.<sup>235</sup>



Figure 7.74: Two buildings prior to the rehabilitation in Al Rashid Street.<sup>236</sup>

<sup>234</sup> Lugal Foundation's manger.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> The archives of the Municipality of Baghdad, adopted from the visual documentation of *Al Rashid Street Development Project 2009*.

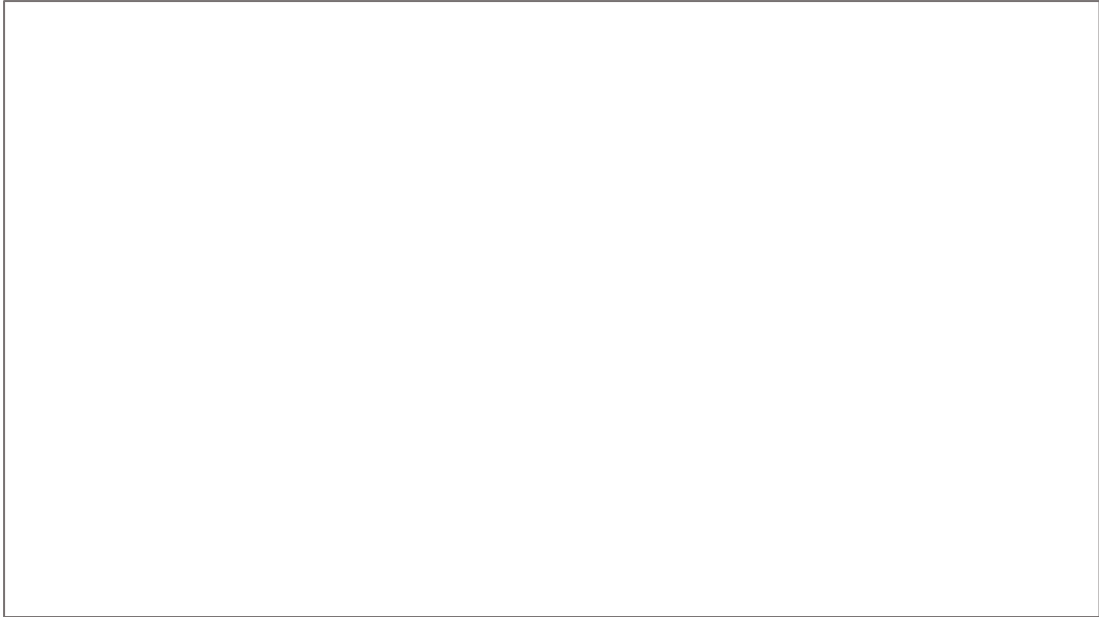


Figure 7.75: Two of the four buildings after the rehabilitation in Al Rashid Street, the use of warm bright colours and mirrored glazing. <sup>237</sup>

In responding to criticism for not unifying the colours of the colonnades, the Lugal Foundation's manager argues that since each building has a unique set of columns, painting each set with a different colour or tone intensifies the uniqueness of the set.<sup>238</sup>

In this respect, the response provides a valid argument.

The rehabilitation of the four buildings in Al Rashid Street, albeit without analytical process of determining how significant the building is and then what approach, manifests the commendable achievement for the volunteers on the ground. Their achievement provided the spark that prompted musicians, artists, and architects to engage with the Municipality of Baghdad to discuss the launch of similar voluntary initiatives.<sup>239</sup>

Shifting the discussion from a volunteering level to a dedicated governmental level, despite the fact that the rehabilitation of just four buildings constituted an unremarkable achievement, the Municipality of Baghdad grossly exaggerated the number of buildings that had been rehabilitated. According to the Municipality

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<sup>237</sup> Lugal Foundation, *Photo Gallery*, Lugal Foundation, (2016) <<http://lugalfound.org/792/>> [Accessed 8 November 2016].

<sup>238</sup> Lugal Foundation's manger.

<sup>239</sup> Alghad Press, *Iraqi Central Bank: More Than 20 Banks Will Sponsor the Rehabilitation of Al Rashid Street and 20 Squares in Baghdad*, Alghad Press, (28 September 2016) <<https://alghadpress.com/ar/news/70984/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D9%83%C2%AD%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%B2%D9%258%E2%80%A6>> [Accessed 6 December 2016].



spokesman, a third of the street's buildings were rehabilitated.<sup>240</sup> Certainly, the Municipality used a diversionary tactic in terms of presenting the rehabilitation process in a very positive way and depicting how the street is improving.

An identical tactic has been employed in Al Rusafi Square: the square was selected as a place for the centennial celebration of the opening of Al Rashid Street. Ironically, with its annual gigantic budget, the Municipality of Baghdad invited the Lugal Foundation, Mohamed Makiya Committee,<sup>241</sup> and the Alaq Baghdad initiative<sup>242</sup> to assist in the redevelopment of the square. After four months of implementation and intensive media coverage, the outcomes were just cleaning up and painting the square and its few buildings, as well as the statue of Al Rusafi.<sup>243</sup> Sadly, the square's two comprehensive redevelopment proposals produced by Rusafa Study of 1984 and Al Rashid Street Development Project were totally omitted.

The ceremonial celebration in the cleaned up square was attended by high Iraqi officials and the Mayor of Baghdad. During her speech, the mayor invited the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to add Al Rashid Street to the World Heritage List based on a hundred-year opening; and emphasised that the municipality had effectively worked for improving the street's facades.<sup>244</sup> Sadly, there was a stark difference between what was officially announced and the reality on the ground. Just a few meters off the celebration place, Al-Mirjaniya madrasa and the majority of Al Rashid's buildings were left totally neglected and forgotten. Hussein Rashid, who is an Iraqi journalist, comments that

After months of numerous announcements about the preparations for the conservation and redevelopment of Al Rashid Street, I did not feel or see any change in the street, I have visited the street several time since, presumably it was just confined for painting a few buildings in Al Rusafi Square. [...] The conservation and the redevelopment of Al Rashid Street should not be done in intermitted unplanned stages that degenerate

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<sup>240</sup> Almada, 'The Municipality Prepares a Centennial Celebration of Opening Al Rashid Street and Aims to Have an International Support for Rehabilitating It.', *Almada* 26 July 2016, p. 7.

<sup>241</sup> Mohamed Makiya Committee is a non-governmental organization named in memory of the late pioneering Iraqi architect Mohammed Makia.

<sup>242</sup> The Alaq Baghdad initiative was introduced by Nasier Shama, a famous Iraqi musician, its aim was to redevelop twenty squares in Baghdad.

<sup>243</sup> The Municipality of Baghdad, *The Mayor of Baghdad Directed to Accelerate the Preparation of the Centennial Celebration of Opening Al Rashid Street*, The Municipality of Baghdad (14 November 2016) <<https://amanatbaghdad.gov.iq/posts.php?lang=ar&post=17>> [Accessed 17 January 2020].

<sup>244</sup> The Municipality of Baghdad, *The Mayor of Baghdad Invites the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to Add Al Rashid Street to the World Heritage List*, The Municipality of Baghdad (5 December 2016) <<https://amanatbaghdad.gov.iq/posts.php?lang=ar&post=58>> [Accessed 17 January 2020].

the street further. Who will guarantee the rehabilitation of the rest of the street? How will it be rehabilitated? Is it in the same way as Al Rusafi Square? Will there be a celebration with every ten meters rehabilitated of the street? The cost of celebration will be sufficient for the rehabilitation of several buildings in the street.<sup>245</sup>

Meanwhile, the *Almada* newspaper reported that,

Several Baghdadis who attended the centennial celebration or those who are regular visitors to the street accused the municipality of Baghdad of neglecting Al Rashid Street and not implementing any of the conservation and redevelopment plans that were announced since 2003, despite allocating billions of dinars for doing so.<sup>246</sup>

It is without doubt that the municipality focused entirely on quick limited projects connected with superficial enhancement of the place, physical aesthetics and appearance, while interrelated fundamental issues connected with the street's tangible and intangible heritage were not being addressed.

Left: Figure 7.76: Al Rusafi Square during the preparation for the centennial celebration of opening Al Rashid Street.<sup>247</sup>

Right and down: Figure 7.77-7.78: Al Rusafi Square on the day of the centennial celebration of opening Al Rashid Street.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Hussein Rashid, 'The Centennial of Al Rashid Street?', *Almada* 5 December 2016, p. 10.

<sup>246</sup> *Almada*, 'Al Rashid Street..Painful Reality and Inadequate Rehabilitation', *Almada* 5 December 2016, p. 10.

<sup>247</sup> The Municipality of Baghdad, *The Mayor of Baghdad Directed to Accelerate the Preparation of the Centennial Celebration of Opening Al Rashid Street*.

<sup>248</sup> Baghdadi social media.

Figure 7.79: High Iraqi officials attended the centennial celebration of opening Al Rashid Street.<sup>249</sup>

The state of the street reflects the political, social, and economic conditions of Baghdad. It is a city that has been enmeshed in a game of frequent sudden political changes which left Al Rashid Street outside the national mythical narrative. Without political steering and support, the municipality, even if it continues to benefit from volunteering initiatives, will keep operating with an uncalibrated compass and therefore directing the street to an inevitable destiny of loss and destruction.

### **Conclusion**

Al Rashid Street's narrative has portrayed the impact of political, social and economic elements on the evolution of the place since its construction in the second decade of the twentieth century. A narrative about the transformation of the street from an alien and a destructive object, born immature in ruinous conditions, constructed to facilitate military traffic to be the agent of modernity of Baghdad and ended up as the city's cardinal heritage street. The transformation of Al Rashid Street and its consistent change of heritage meaning and significance, the conflict among heritage agencies in Baghdad, the deployment and exclusion of the architectural heritage of the place from Iraqi national narratives, and the public participation in saving such heritage, constitutes the core themes through which the narrative of Al Rashid Street were addressed, demonstrated, and explored.

Al-Mirjaniya madrasa evidenced that heritage was valued insignificantly to the point of inferiority when the modernity of Al Rashid Street clashed with the ancient heritage

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<sup>249</sup> The Municipality of Baghdad, *The Mayor of Baghdad Invites the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to Add Al Rashid Street to the World Heritage List*.

of the place. Modernity took precedence over Al-Mirjaniya in order to reflect the nationalists' aspiration in transforming the street into a completely modern place in line with the new national identity. Moreover, what is interesting about Al-Mirjaniya is that it exposed the extreme variation of valuing and protecting the remains of the same ancient heritage in different geographical settings. Al-Mirjaniya's gate was left neglected and unprotected in its original setting in Al Rashid Street, while the remains of Al-Mirjaniya's demolished *musalla* has been exhibited as significant Islamic antiquities in a replicated *musalla* in the Iraqi National Museum. Thus, by just transferring the remains from its original setting to a museum setting, the remains have been transformed from standing architectural elements to exhibited antiquities.

With respect to the conflict among heritage agencies, each of these has a different agenda and evaluation criteria that contribute to the conflict. *Awqaf*, the biggest heritage landlord, is only interested in protecting the monetary value of its sites. The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage values heritage primarily on archaeological ground and therefore as exhibits displayed in museums, and it lacks a robust investigation and inspection practice of standard architectural heritage. The Municipality of Baghdad concentrates mainly on the aesthetic physical enhancement of the place without sufficient attention to other values.

Heritage making and deployment were evident in Al Ghurairi Square, where the mythical images of Saddam and his fallen comrade overrode the redevelopment proposal of the Rusafa Study of 1984. This sprang from the fact that the contribution to the political narrative was more significant than responding to a politically neutral urban improvement of the square. However, since the redeveloped square constitutes a place of contested political heritage, its intended meaning was shifted dramatically after the fallen of Saddam's regime in AD 2003, leading to the removal of the old regime's memory trigger and placing a statue that manifests another version of the political heritage of the place.

Another heritage related consequence of the regime change was the sudden surge of sectarian religious identities that led to the street and its heritage being completely thrown outside the realm of national identity. This translated on the ground to the street being left in total neglect and ultimately directed to a path of rapid physical decline. Even though the voluntary rehabilitation initiative attempted to mitigate the effects of

the physical deterioration, it was not only far from sufficient, but conducted without the participation of professional bodies represented by architects or heritage experts.

Since its opening, Al Rashid Street has mirrored the conditions of Baghdad through the state of its buildings and colonnades, narrated the mythical story of a city in reaching its zenith and plummeting to the nadir. The next chapter will revisit the research questions, link the common themes, and discuss the finding of the research.

## Chapter 8

### More than a century of cultural heritage conservation in Baghdad

#### Discussion and Conclusions

It's in vain, Trot, to recall the past, unless it works some influence upon the present.<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the prominent English writer and social critic Charles Dickens wrote concisely in his novel *David Copperfield* that it is irrational to deploy heritage without affecting the present. A similar statement can be applied to the heritage deployment of Baghdad's historic city, which has been about shaping the identity of the present, contributing to several national and political narratives, and often reacting to sudden political events. Thus, throughout writing this thesis, I frequently asked myself, and alluded it to the reader, whether Baghdadis needed to witness a car bomb killing innocent people in a Baghdadi *suq*, a tyrant obsessed with his image and his party's narrative, nationalists concerned with ethnic past, or even a colonizer colouring one facet of the place's identity, to value and potentially save the cultural heritage of Rusafa? This leads me back to conclude the answers of the questions posed by this research and to accomplish its aims. That is, what has been lost in the context of the political and social instability of this conflicted city, how have the politics of identity affected and shaped heritage management and practice in the conflicted city of Baghdad since the beginning of twentieth century, and how have concepts of heritage evolved over this period of time?

Therefore, the chapter is divided into four sections: the first concludes the research findings in terms of heritage loss in Rusafa, heritage uses and abuses, and the politics of identity. The second concludes the evolution of the official heritage meaning in Baghdad. The third concludes the approaches to conservation in Baghdad in relation to international and Islamic approaches to conservation, and the final section includes architectural styles that are co-opted to represent national identity.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*. Kindle edn (Public Domain Books, 2010).

### **Heritage losses, uses, abuses, and the politics of identity in Rusafa historic core**

The inevitable loss of a substantial number of Rusafa's heritage buildings over four decades of a continuous devastating period of instability has been documented and substantiated by my survey and its analysis, and therefore both constitute a contribution to knowledge. The survey has revealed that approximately 41 percent of heritage buildings and sites in the historic core have been lost. Different to the Iraqi National Museum – which was looted and destroyed in the aftermath of American invasion in AD 2003<sup>2</sup> – none of the losses (119 buildings and sites) were caused by the direct consequences of instability, but these losses have been imputed instead by this research to the change of national narrative and its impacts on heritage management and practice in the city. This takes the debate back to the interrogation into the links between heritage and identity in Baghdad and how this has been shaped by local and international politics, decision and policy-making.

One of the significant contributions of this research is to demonstrate that the cultural heritage of the Rusafa historic core could not only escape the political environment of Baghdad since the beginning of the twentieth century, but the degree of exploitation and negligence by the various political systems, to consolidate specific identities, has been so severe that this has had an immense impact on heritage management and practice in the city. On management, two of the city's only three heritage laws were drafted by Gertrude Bell and Sati' al-Husri respectively, while the third heritage law was heavily based on the previous two laws. These heritage laws are thus closely associated with the two political figures who held control of the General Directorate of Ancient Antiquities, rather than with the Directorate as a governmental institution. It is without doubt that these laws emerged not only to manage heritage generally, but were manifested in reaction to political necessities. On heritage practice, the research affirmed that it was almost impossible to garner any official interest in considering and deploying Baghdadi heritage as a neutral, cultural or economic resource without being enmeshed in achieving political ends. Baghdadi heritage was therefore always

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<sup>2</sup> Lawrence Rothfield, *The Rape of Mesopotamia: Behind the Looting of the Iraq Museum* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 2009).

labelled as a cultural product designed for political consumption. Indeed, this is to affirm that ‘heritage is a knowledge, a cultural product and a political resource’.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in line with this argument, I established that every period was associated with a political figure, movement, or event that aimed to make, prioritise, and steer certain types of heritage towards serving a desired identity: starting with Western imperialism, Gertrude Bell, Sati’ al-Husri, Arab nationalism, Ba’ath, Saddam Hussein, terrorism, the Americans and the contemporaneous Iraqi government, anti-war activists, and ending up with Baghdadi volunteers.

Ironically, in this hundred year time period, the process of identity association with place to consolidate the British Imperial narrative was completely reversed, although perhaps to the same ends. At the dawn of the twentieth century, British museums imported – to the point of considering the imports as a systematic plunder by many scholars – Iraqi antiquities of the great ancient civilizations to buttress the Western narrative of advancement by exhibiting what is controversially considered the roots of their Western culture. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of these artefacts place of origin were denied association with those great civilizations. However, at the beginning of the twenty first century, the wreckage shaped by a terrorist attack was imported from the same place of origin and exhibited in the British Imperial War Museum, arguably to disassociate British identity from the impacts of terrorism on British soil and to associate such terrors with the city of Baghdad. This was achieved under the pretext of depicting the catastrophic impact of modern wars on civilian lives.<sup>4</sup>

After capturing the city of Baghdad in AD 1917 – and in tandem with maintaining the imperial narrative – British imperial power deployed other forms of heritage to influence and reshape the identity of the place in the twentieth century by focusing solely on Arab Islamic heritage, and excluded those forms belonging to the rest of Baghdadi’s indigenous ethnic and religious groups. The culmination of the British deployment of cultural heritage was evident in the 1919 fifteen-monument-list of archaeological or historical interest in Baghdad, which was prepared under the

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<sup>3</sup> Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> BBC, *Iraqi Bombed Car on Show at Imperial War Museum North*, BBC News, (2011) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-12973302>> [Accessed 17 January 2017].



supervision of Bell.<sup>5</sup> Both Bell and her list paved the road for Arab nationalists to use mono-cultural heritage to serve Arabism, the founding myth of the British-made Arab nascent nation-state.

Sati' al-Husri, the champion of Arab nationalism, maintained Bell's position in terms of focusing on ancient Arab Islamic heritage and considered it the cornerstone of the national narrative. He therefore prioritised saving 'the living present', which was represented by the Arab ancient monuments, over that of 'the dead past' as evidenced in the case study of the so-called Abbasid Palace (the first stage of intervention). However, even though the 'Mesopotamian dead civilizations' could not be incorporated within the Arab national narrative about returning to an Arab golden age, al-Husri differed with the Britisher Bell's position and her law of ancient antiquities. He superseded it by enacting a new law to stop the systematic plunder of the ancient Mesopotamian civilizations' relics justifying that they were unessential components in reuniting the Arab nation, but still constituted a source of national pride.

By establishing that heritage could be used as a piece of apparatus in constructing components of the Arab nationalistic project – by creating and promoting myths of origins and descent – the mythical narrative was considered more important than those heritage devices and resources used in its process of production. The greater the myths to be created and intensified, the heavier the use and abuse of heritage. This argument was evidenced in the so-called Abbasid Palace when the magnitude of intervention in all stages corresponded with the intensity of Arabism as a mythical narrative. From prioritising only the conservation of the building – where contemporaneous international practices were applied over other heritage items during al-Husri's tenure – to reaching the extreme abuse of heritage in order to resurrect the Arab nation during the revolutionary reign of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, the building was heavily over-restored and reconstructed.

Certainly, generalizing the case study of the so-called Abbasid Palace and assuming that all practitioners in Baghdad were under the influence of political projects might be considered erroneous. However, even if practitioners attempted to take a neutral path or were oblivious of the political significance and implication of their

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<sup>5</sup> 'Notes on Places of Archaeological or Historical Interest at Baghdad', ed. by Office of Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia (Baghdad: Government Press, 1919).

engagement, their proposals were omitted and overridden in favour of a more overtly political active approach as demonstrated in Al Ghurairi Square, where the aggrandizement of the leader and his fallen comrade took precedence over the place's mere urban qualities and requirements.

Another contribution of this research is the recognition that heritage constitutes only one element of the nationalists' arsenal: it can be tactically deployed when it has the characteristics to achieve nationalistic aims, but it will be withdrawn or even destroyed when another element proves to be more powerful or suitable to accomplish those aims in the same or different geographic or temporal contexts. For example, while the nationalists were restoring and aggrandising the so-called Abbasid Palace (the second stage of intervention) to house Arab and Islamic antiquities, Al-Mirjaniya madrasa – the significant ancient Islamic monument which had proved to have the same value or even greater value than the so-called Abbasid Palace and its exhibits – was un sentimentally destroyed. In the former case, heritage was used to achieve the aim of restoring the Arabs' glorious past; in the latter, heritage was considered a source of an inferior past and consequently incongruous to the developed present illustrated by aspects of modernity. In both cases, it was not about the conflict between heritage and modernity, both are just tools and resources to manufacture the nationalistic project. This has led me to affirm Bernard Feilden's position that 'there is no dichotomy between modern buildings and historic buildings—they are both used and abused, and have to stand up'.<sup>6</sup>

However, cementing the national narrative by the simultaneous deployment of heritage and modernity could have been achievable in Baghdad. Sadly, despite considering Baghdadi heritage in the 1980s as a political exigency and entrusting the modernizing mission to the prominent architect Rifat Chadirji, catastrophic results were witnessed in the historic fabric due to a sudden change in the political environment that had provided the modernizing mission with impetus in the first place. The change of the political environment led to the emergence of Babylonism, as a parallel narrative to Arabism, the former gradually starting to dominate until the latter was excluded entirely from the regime's narrative, and hence Arabism's tools and resources became politically irrelevant. This was translated on the ground by the

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<sup>6</sup> Bernard M. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*. 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford Architectural Press, 2003), p. xi.

abandonment of all modernization and conservation projects in Baghdad, except for those designed for the aggrandizement of Saddam's image, as evidenced in Al Ghuraiiri Square.

It is a contribution similar to that at the dawn of the twentieth century: the heritage of Babylon dwarfed that of Baghdad again, the former this time was not associated with the identity of imperial power, but deployed to reinforce the identity of Saddam as a descendant and inheritor of Nebuchadnezzar, the mighty Babylonian king.

Rusafa's state of neglect continued after the fall of Baghdad in April 2003, when the American invading army and their imposed sectarian political system did not find in the architectural heritage of Baghdad a fruitful ground for promoting the sectarian project in the twenty-first century, as the British did in triggering the Arab ethnic project in the twentieth century.

Interestingly and sadly, it was the terrorists who were the first to significantly value and then to mobilize the heritage of Rusafa in the post Saddam era. In their narrative of terror, the intended meaning was generated not from the protection, but the destruction, of the place and its heritage. The carnage in Al Mutanabbi Street was carefully planned not only to kill innocent civilians, but to validate the terrorists' narrative by proving their capability of spreading terror and destruction in the heart of Baghdad's historic centre.

Thus, the Al Mutanabbi Street terrorist attack moved some of Rusafa's cultural heritage back into the political arena, the attack triggering a shared momentary interest in saving Al Mutanabbi Street's heritage. Both the Americans and their contemporaneous Iraqi government realized that the meaning generated from the street's development was fundamental in consolidating the efforts of battling national and international terrorism. Since the rest of Rusafa historic core was not part of this battle site, it lacked the resource to produce similar meaning, and was therefore left outside this political manipulation, even though there were a significant number of Baghdadi people, cultural and academic institutions, championing the case for the redevelopment of Al Rashid Street; a project to do so was only investigated but consequently abandoned.

Indeed, this apparent disregard of public opinion, coupled with the suppression of practices during the era of dictatorship, lead to another contribution pertaining to the

Baghdadi context. By remaining within the circle of government, public participation in the conservation of Baghdad's cultural heritage was denied across the two levels of engagement in terms of influencing heritage management – developing heritage laws in response to public pressure, or in terms of active participation as stakeholders in conservation projects – as outlined by Zeynep Aygen.<sup>7</sup>

Significantly, in the majority of the cases, the way in which the cultural heritage of Baghdad was managed and practised can be considered as an extreme version of Laurajane Smith's *authorised heritage discourse*;<sup>8</sup> it is not the government's experts who guided the public, as in the original version, but the politically-driven authority that guided both the experts and the public in determining what to save, for whom, and for which aim. At the other end of this extreme version was the practice of allowing volunteers to heavily engage in the rehabilitation of Al Rashid Street's buildings without any supervision from the experts, but the meaning had already been decided by the authority when sanctioning the engagement in AD 2015, and by the government experts when the buildings were listed in AD 1984.

We can conclude that a balanced political interest is essential in order to save the cultural heritage of Baghdad. Without it, the protection mechanism alone will definitely fail in achieving its purpose.

### **Heritage meaning in Baghdad: an inevitable change**

What constitutes heritage in Baghdad has evolved significantly since the beginning of twentieth century, and is similar to the international context, heritage can be a broken piece of antiquity, a wreckage shaped by a terrorist attack, a palace, a statue, a modern street, a humble traditional house, a madrasa, and social practices...etc. By having such a plethora of tangible and intangible manifestations, defining heritage in isolation from the intended aim of serving the present becomes an impossible endeavour. 'Heritage today all but defies definition'<sup>9</sup> owing to the fact that anything has a latent value and meaning to be discovered, or to be made, or to be mythicized, and then to be directed

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<sup>7</sup> Zeynep Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation: Saving the World's Past*. (New York & Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 221-223.

<sup>8</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 7.

towards the uses of the present. Indeed, ‘heritage is sanctioned not by proof of origins but by present exploits.’<sup>10</sup>

Focusing solely on monumental heritage, the development of heritage management in the city in the first half of the twentieth century was akin to that evolved internationally, as manifested in the Athens Charter for The Restoration of Historic Monuments in AD 1931.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the implications of the city’s early two heritage legislations were the listing of a few singular ancient monuments (mainly those in the 1919 fifteen-monument-list).

However, the emergence of a concern for the urban heritage in Baghdad was significantly behind the global recognition of the importance of protecting and preserving groups of buildings, the settings in which monuments are situated, and the traditional fabric of the city as declared in *The Venice Charter for The Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964)* and *the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)*. The reason for this is that urban conservation is a broader aspect of heritage conservation which needs, in addition to the political will, substantial financial and human resources over a long period than those resources for conserving single monuments; and Baghdad, the emerging capital of a nascent state, lacked the political will and resources to protect the urban heritage and utilize it in the national narrative at that time.

Thus, the conservation of Baghdad’s urban heritage in terms of management and practice emerged at the beginning of 1980s when such requirements had become available during the early years of Saddam Hussein’s presidency. It is noteworthy that it was not a mere shift from monumental to urban heritage, but a parallel focus on protecting all types of built heritage in the city. Monumental heritage conservation projects continued to be used in tandem with the urban conservation plan of the *Rusafa Study on Conservation and Redevelopment of the Historical Centre of Baghdad City 1984* to reflect the national identity.

A key point for this research is that after a century of evolution, the official cultural heritage of Baghdad has become fairly heterogeneous in terms of accommodating all

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 127.

<sup>11</sup> League of Nations-Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931)* (1931).

tangible forms, but what has still been missing from the legislation, and to some extent from heritage practice, as evidenced by the case study of Al Mutanabbi Street, is the recognition and the protection of intangible heritage. It is my contention that the reason for it not being included in several legislations or in their secondary regulations is that the Iraqi political agenda has not found a fruitful ground yet to recognize and deploy such forms of heritage to serve the current political agenda. Moreover, even the tangible forms, which have already been officially designated and protected by heritage laws, could not find its place in the national narrative and therefore left neglected and in a dilapidated state.

### **The approaches to conservation in Baghdad**

Generalizing the approaches to conservation in Baghdad, or any city since the dawn of the twentieth century, can be considered an impossible endeavour for several reasons emphasized by this research. The global field of architectural conservation has developed significantly over that period; the vast scale of conservation projects, ranging from conserving architectural components, historic interiors, individual buildings, entire neighbourhoods, and whole districts; the dynamic significance of each project; and the socio-political environment prior to and during conducting conservation projects.

Indeed, the interpretations of heritage significance, dictated by heritage's role at present and the availability of resources, forms the appropriate approach(es) to conservation. This is to affirm John Stubbs, Bernard Feilden, and Salvador Viñas's philosophical positions respectively.

There are millions of conserved buildings throughout the world serving as inspiring and instructive exemplars, and each survived its own ever-changing circumstances. Because each building is unique and because there are often varying interpretations of the significance of such resources, there is no single appropriate philosophic approach applicable to architectural conservation.<sup>12</sup>

The final choice of the approach to be adopted should be made only after a proper appraisal (consistent with the scale of operations and the resources available) of alternatives, with some eye to the future.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> John H. Stubbs, *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation: Parameters, Theory, & Evolution of an Ethos* (Hoboken, N.J. : Chichester: John Wiley, 2009), p. 132.

<sup>13</sup> Feilden, p. 20.

[Therefore,] different conservation ideologies may well coexist in the same country or region.<sup>14</sup>

Even though there is a significant number of approaches to conservation, the majority of which can be classified within two overarching approaches: scientific approach (some literature call this a material-based approach) and values-based approach to conservation.<sup>15</sup>

At a single building (monumental) level, the case study of the so-called Abbasid Palace has shown that the degree of intervention completely contradicts the scientific approach, where the need to authentically ‘preserve or restore the *true nature* of objects’<sup>16</sup> was severely compromised to achieve lost and (to some extent imaginative) aesthetic qualities. This shifts the approaches to conservation of the Abbasid Palace to the values-based approach to conservation. In addition to that, the survey has showed that all monumental buildings in Rusafa were extensively restored to achieve similar qualities. Therefore, this study can generalize that the values-based approach to conservation is applicable in Baghdad to achieve aesthetic, social, political, and identity values.

Another important point pertaining to the monumental level is that even though Baghdad is an Arab-Islamic city, the cultural and social characteristics of such cities have not affected the approaches to monumental heritage conservation in the Baghdad. Identical approaches to conservation in Baghdad were deployed more than a century earlier in Europe and established the stylistic restoration approach as demonstrated in chapter 4.

However, at an urban level, Baghdad’s cultural and social characteristics have played a crucial role in determining the approaches to conservation in the city. Cultural disruption, which resulted from abrupt discontinuity between traditions and (modernity) modernization projects, constitutes a common problem which Baghdad’s historic centre shares with most Arab-Islamic cities. Thus, the majority of approaches to area conservation in the context of Arab-Islamic cities stress on importance of reviving cultural values and deploying a creative synthesis approach based on

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<sup>14</sup> Salvador Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> The values-based approach to conservation was reviewed in Chapter 2.

<sup>16</sup> Viñas, p. 90.

revitalization within the conserved area to overcome cultural disruption. This approach was used in Baghdad, as manifested by the Rusafa Study of 1984. After his involvement in studying and conserving five historic Arab-Islamic cities (Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Fez, and Aleppo), Stefano Bianca emphasizes that:

While analyzing the genesis of cultural identities and the significance of historic cities, we found that their revitalization needs to be tackled from within, i.e., by reverting to the inner forces that are able to nurture a living culture and re-establish a sense of presence, integrity and continuity. Problems such as cultural disruption, fragmentation of human purposes and the pre-tentious inflation of isolated aspects of life can only be transcended by making appeal to the vital sources of creativity...

Reactivating the hidden inner resources means discovering that the timeless and the contemporary do not need to contradict each other but can work hand in hand. It is this type of empowerment which enables societies to absorb inevitable changes, by remaining in control of outer development forces and using them in a productive and synthetic manner.<sup>17</sup>

Within this culturally based synthetic approach, Noha Nasser advocates the need to rediscover the traditional institutions in Islamic cities and therefore to enable *Awqaf* to retain its role, which is played prior to modernity, as ‘a keystone in the conservation and regeneration process’. Arguing that using *Awqaf*’s resources in the conservation process creates ‘a natural internalized alliance in urban development’<sup>18</sup>.

This idealist view has two fundamental drawbacks in Baghdad’s historic city as evidenced by my thesis. First, the *Awqaf* in Baghdad has played its role in conserving and managing heritage in the city, but as the principal aim of *Awqaf* is to deliver charitable services, normative conservation standards and ethics are disregarded when contradict with delivering the principal aim, which (according to the *Awqaf*) significance stems from. Second, is the lack of coordination between the city’s three heritage agencies: The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, *Awqaf*, and the Municipality of Baghdad. Each agency has directed public criticism for failing to save the cultural heritage in the city towards the other agencies. This is not a unique phenomenon confined to the Baghdadi context, but is a widespread practice in many cities around the world.

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<sup>17</sup> Stefano Bianca, *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), pp. 335-336.

<sup>18</sup> Noha Nasser, 'Cultural Continuity and Meaning of Place: Sustaining Historic Cities of the Islamic World', *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 9:1 (2003), 74-89 (p. 81).



In countries where conservation activities come under several ministries and are “nobody's baby” the situation is frustration because there is no career [clear] structure as a result of this unfortunate fragmentation.<sup>19</sup>

However, what has made the Baghdadi context distinctive is that the impact of this fragmentation has been exacerbated by the politics of identity. Each agency attempted separately to contribute to some aspects of the national narrative which led to a conflict between what was needed to be deployed and destroyed as demonstrated in the Al-Mirjaniya *madrasa*.

Furthermore, as the majority of listed buildings in Baghdad were designated in response to a political urgency by one agency, as evidenced by the Rusafa Study of 1984, different heritage lists were produced. The list in the Municipality of Baghdad partially corresponds with that at the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, leading to an absence of one comprehensive inventory and a unified heritage database. One of its consequences, as highlighted by this research, is that an entire design for a heritage street was conducted with the assumption of the non-existence of heritage buildings as evidenced in the Al-Mutanabbi Street development project.

### **Conservation, critical regionalism, and the architectural style debate in Baghdad**

In the development of the field of architectural conservation, not only should heritage buildings be protected and preserved, but the settings in which buildings are situated as well. Further development is also needed to protect and revitalize whole historic areas and periphery zones. Thus, architects and urban designers worldwide generally, and in the developing world in particular, face ongoing challenges; what architectural style(s) should be adopted in constructing new buildings in historic settings to reflect national identity? Should new architecture be detached from the place and its traditions to manifest progress or to be sympathetic to the heritage of the place. Paul Ricoeur confirms this acute dilemma:

To some extent, and in varying ways, everyone experiences the tension between the necessity for the free access to progress and, on the other hand, the exigency of safeguarding our heritage.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Bernard Feilden, *An Introduction to Conservation of Cultural Property* (Rome: Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, 1979), p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Ricoeur, 'Universal Civilization and National Cultures', in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. by Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), pp. 42-53 (p. 43).

Indeed, both heritage and modernity can be deployed simultaneously in the same project to buttress the national narrative. It is about synthesising the generated meanings produced by those devices to serve the intended political aim. This tactic was employed by Saddam Hussein in AD 1981 when he introduced the idea of *khususiya*, in which architectural heritage would be used to impart a modern national style that represents a modern Arab nation with deep roots to its glorious past.

The idea of *khususiya*, as a socio-political necessity, and its implications in Baghdad in the 1980s can be linked to a wider evolving global architectural discourse at that time, where monumental binary oppositions – such as ‘East/West, traditional/modern, natural/cultural, core/periphery, self/other, space/place’<sup>21</sup> – constitutes the pillars of critical regionalism discourse, while resolving tensions and establishing a dialectic between those oppositions form the core of the discourse. For those reasons critical regionalism is ‘never a singular theory or practice’.<sup>22</sup>

Two fundamental features coexist in architectural conservation and critical regionalism discourses. First, there is no correct or erroneous approach for applying critical regionalism principles. This means creating various architectural styles and classifying such styles within the critical regionalism discourse. Similar to conservation approaches, critical regionalism discourse lacks ‘stylistic unity’, owing to the fact that critical regionalism ‘is a method or process rather than a product, and the process varied widely according to individual situations.’<sup>23</sup> Second, the employment of critical regionalism to achieve political aims affirms Paul Rudolph’s position that critical regionalism is ‘often called into service for political or religious purposes and there's nothing wrong with that. Architecture is used for these purposes and many others, all of which is acceptable’.<sup>24</sup>

Accordingly, the politics of identity paved the road for introducing two completely contradictory approaches to critical regionalism in Baghdad’s historic core. The first,

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<sup>21</sup> Keith L. Eggener, 'Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism', in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. by Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), pp. 395-407 (p. 406).

<sup>22</sup> Vincent B. Canizaro, 'Introduction', in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. by Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), pp. 16-33 (p. 16).

<sup>23</sup> Eggener, pp. 395-407 (p. 395).

<sup>24</sup> Paul Rudolph, 'Regionalism in Architecture: Session I', in *Regionalism in Architecture*, ed. by Robert Powell (Geneva: Concept Media Pte Ltd, 1985), pp. 43-45 (p. 44).

which has been endorsed by my thesis, rejects the direct imitation of the place's physical environment, by which traditional architectural elements are reproduced as a way of decorating and dressing up elevations to be sympathetic to locality. At a global theoretical level, Vincent Canizaro warns against this approach arguing that critical regionalism should be 'against the casual and irresponsible use of cultural symbols, and for thoughtful consideration.'<sup>25</sup> While in practice, John Warren commented on his work in Baghdad that:

I will not stick pointed arches on concrete-frame buildings to make them Islamic. Islam is manifested in a way of life, and if that life is reflected in the way the architecture is used, and if the architecture used is sympathetic to that way of life, then it will become Islamic. But I cannot make it Islamic by sticking things on it.<sup>26</sup>

The contradictory approach was adopted by Robert Venturi in designing a multi-storey building in Khulafa Street (illustrated by figure 5.04 on p.130). this approach has also been adopted in the majority of municipalities in Islamic cities, and in the Al-Mutanabbi Street development project. Venturi justified the direct employment of historical architectural elements by arguing that

I have recommended the use of representation in architecture as a means of accommodating elements of historical ornament which become, in their perception as signs, not archaeological models but essences of the original.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, Abdulla Bokhari sheds some light on the scale of such employment in Arab-Islamic cities when he states that

Architects, designers, and administrators try to copy the elements of traditional buildings. Regulations even encourage this by enforcing the use of some traditional architectonic elements.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed, both approaches and their subsequent styles are acceptable, but as discussed in Chapter 6, I have argued against the second approach owing to it not only 'resulting

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<sup>25</sup> Canizaro, pp. 16-33 (p. 32).

<sup>26</sup> John Warren, and Roy Worskett, 'Conservation and Redevelopment of the Kadhimiyeh Area in Baghdad', in *Adaptive Reuse: Integrating Traditional Areas into the Modern Urban Fabric*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevckenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1983), pp. 32-46 (p. 40).

<sup>27</sup> Robert Venturi, 'Foreword', in *Concepts and Influences: Towards a Regionalized International Architecture*, ed. by Rifat Chadirji (London: KPI Limited, 1986), pp. 1-3 (p.3).

<sup>28</sup> Abdulla Y. Bokhari, 'Conservation in the Historic District of Jeddah', in *Adaptive Reuse: Integrating Traditional Areas into the Modern Urban Fabric*, ed. by Margaret Bentley Sevckenko (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1983), pp. 60-67 (p. 63).

in architectural forms and solutions that are at the same time pretentious and naive<sup>29</sup>, but more significantly that it petrifies the past and falsifies the present.

### **Concluding remarks**

It is noteworthy that the findings of my study are conditioned by the research limitations. The first limitation stems from the nature of the study, every research engages with the past produces just one version of that past, it provides a sole interpretation of the historical context in order to service the research narrative. The interpretation is dictated by the theoretical position. The second limitation – an alternative theoretical approach to nationalism or adopting a post-colonial approach – could have provided different results and conclusions to the ethno-symbolism approach, which has been adopted by this study. Third, limitation by design, created by limiting the geographic area and focusing only on Rusafa’s historic core, incorporating the rest of Baghdad’s historic cores or expanding the boundaries beyond the historical centres would have prompted me to investigate other manifestations of cultural heritage. Fourth, linguistic limitation, sources about the socio-political environment of Iraq and the conservation and re-development projects of Baghdad – which were written in non-Arabic or non-English languages – are absent in this research. Fifth, limited resources, this research has been conducted remotely from Sheffield by one researcher with a very limited budget and coincided with almost continuous extenuating circumstances.

Despite these limitations and as evidenced in the Baghdadi context of conflict, answering the internationally relevant questions “What is heritage?”, “Who decides what is heritage?”, “Why, and for whom, is heritage created?”<sup>30</sup>: Heritage is a game of constant control and manipulation of the past, and its unwritten dynamic rules can only be established by players’ uses in the present.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> J. E. Tunbridge, and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), p. 5.

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## Appendices

### The results of updating Ihsan Fethi's heritage buildings survey of AD 1977

	Code	Name	Function	Ownership	Grade	Lost
1	1	Abbasid Palace	Ancient Monument	Antiquities	A	Extant
2	2	Azbaki Mosque*	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
3	3	Qalla Mosque*	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
4	4	Aliya Madrasa*	Ancient Monument	Antiquities	A	Extant
5	5	Ahmadia Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
6	6	Pasha Hammam	Hammam	Private	A	Extant
7	7	Numaniya Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
8	8	Sarai Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
9	9	Sarai Building	Ancient Monument	Government	B	Extant
10	10	Qushla Clock Tower	Ancient Monument	Government	B	Extant
11	11	Sarai Gateway	Ancient Monument	Government	B	Extant
12	12	Wazir Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
13	13	Sarajin Suq	Suq	Awqaf	A	Extant
14	14	Baghdadi Museum	Ancient Monument	Government	B	Extant
15	15	Citadel wall*	Ancient Monument	Government	A	Extant
16	16	Haji Faraj House	House	Private	C	Extant
17	17	Kihaimi House	House	Private	C	Extant
18	18	Salima Daud House	House	Private	B	Extant
19	19	House 11/15	House	Private	C	Lost
20	20	House 20/15	House	Private	B	Lost
21	21	Jadid Hasan Pasha 1	House	Private	C	Lost
22	22	Shabandar House	House	Private	B	Lost
23	23	Shabandar House	House	Private	B	Extant
24	24	Jabouri Juma House	House	Private	C	Extant
25	25	Qishtaini House	House	Private	B	Lost
26	26	Ghafuri House	House	Private	B	Lost
27	27	House 17/12	House	Private	B	Lost
28	28	Uthman	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
29	29	Uthman Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
30	30	Sulaimaniya Madrasa*	Ancient Monument	Awqaf	B	Extant
31	31	Najib Sahrawardi*	Tomb	Awqaf	A	Extant
32	32	Haraj Suq	Suq	Private	C	Extant
33	33	Muradiya Madrasa*	Ancient Monument	Awqaf	B	Extant
34	34	Civil Court	Ancient Monument	Government	B	Extant

35	35	Sarai Suq	Suq	Private	C	Extant
36	36	Sagha Suq	Suq	Private	C	Extant
37	37	Hasan Ajmi Cafe	Cafe	Private	C	Extant
38	38	Rafidain Hammam	Hammam	Private	C	Lost
39	39	Asifi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
40	40	Mustansiriya Madrasa	Ancient Monument	Antiquities	A	Extant
41	41	Qaplani Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
42	42	Saraf Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
43	43	Dalal Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
44	44	Ijraa Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
45	45	Ruzli Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
46	46	Bab Al-Agha	Khan	Private	C	Extant
47	47	Sumikh Khan	Khan	Mujammada	B	Lost
48	48	Qalamchi Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
49	49	Kafafin Mosque*	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
50	50	Bahrani Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
51	51	Jam Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
52	52	Tabatabai Khan	Khan	Private	B	Extant
53	53	Dangour Khan	Khan	Private	B	Lost
54	54	Assaf Khan	Khan	Private	B	Extant
55	55	Zanjil Suq	Suq	Private	B	Extant
56	56	Ahmadi Tomb-Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
57	57	Ibrisam Suq	Suq	Awqaf	B	Extant
58	58	Dala Khan	Khan	Private	B	Extant
59	59	Zurur Khan	Khan	Awqaf	A	Extant
60	60	Zand Cafe	Cafe	Private	C	Extant
61	61	Wifaiya Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
62	62	Pasha Kabir Khan	Khan	Awqaf	B	Lost
63	63	Tamgha Suq*	Suq	Private	B	Extant
64	64	Sarafin Suq	Suq	Private	B	Extant
65	65	Mirjan Khan	Khan	Antiquities	A	Extant
66	66	Shabandar Khan	Khan	Private	B	Extant
67	67	Adiliya Al-Kabir	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
68	68	Khidhairi Khan	Khan	Private	C	Extant
69	69	Ihsai Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
70	70	17 Ras Al-Qarya	House	Mujammada	B	Lost
71	71	Khasaki Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
72	72	Hasan House	House	Private	B	Lost
73	73	Riverfront 8/38	House	Mujammada	B	Extant
74	74	Mahmud House	House	Private	B	Extant

75	75	Hamadi House	House	Private	B	Extant
76	76	Butrus House	House	Private	A	Extant
77	77	Amin Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
78	78	Haidar Hammam	Hammam	Private	A	Lost
79	79	Sika Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	C	Extant
80	80	Old Riverfront Wall	Ancient Monument	Antiquities	A	Lost
81	81	Lynch House	Commercial building	Private	B	Extant
82	82	House 295/9	House	Mujammada	C	Extant
83	83	Agha Muhammad	House	Private	C	Extant
84	84	House 8/1/29	House	Private	C	Lost
85	85	Sasson House	House	Mujammada	A	Lost
86	86	Annex to Sasson	House	Mujammada	A	Lost
87	87	Numan Pachachi	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
88	88	Safarine Suq	Suq	Private	B	Extant
89	89	Badawi Tomb	Tomb	Awqaf	B	Extant
90	91	Naji Ali House	House	Private	C	Lost
91	101	Ibrahim House	House	Private	B	Lost
92	102	Zahra Musa House	House	Private	C	Lost
93	103	House 15/53	House	Private	C	Lost
94	104	House A14/53	House	Private	C	Lost
95	105	House 4/53	House	Private	C	Lost
96	106	Ali Afandi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
97	107	Muradi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
98	108	Orthodox Church	Church	Church	C	Extant
99	115	House 24/63	House	Private	C	Lost
100	116	House 19/63	House	Private	C	Lost
101	117	Qaraghuli House	House	Private	B	Extant
102	119	Haidar Khana Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
103	120	Hamid Salman House	House	Private	B	Lost
104	121	Shukur House	House	Private	C	Lost
105	122	House 21/72	House	Private	C	Extant
106	123	Sanawi House	House	Private	C	Extant
107	124	Hussain Pasha Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
108	125	Hadad House	House	Private	C	Lost
109	126	House 22/72	House	Private	C	Lost
110	127	House 14/72	House	Private	C	Lost
111	128	House 72/57	House	Private	C	Lost
112	129	House A72/57	House	Private	C	Lost
113	130	Musa House	House	Private	C	Lost
114	135	House 8/100	House	Private	C	Extant

115	136	Aqli Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
116	137	House 17/102	House	Mujammada	B	Extant
117	138	House 19/101	House	Private	C	Lost
118	145	Imam Taha Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
119	146	Pinja Ali	Ancient Monument	Awqaf	A	Extant
120	147	House 16/108	House	Private	C	Lost
121	148	Ali Muhammad House	House	Private	C	Lost
122	149	Qahraman Khan	Khan	Private	B	Extant
123	150	House 20/6/1	House	Private	C	Lost
124	151	Sanawi Khan	Khan	Private	B	Extant
125	152	House 41//111	House	Private	B	Lost
126	153	Shihab Hussain 1	Khan	Private	C	Lost
127	154	Shihab Hussain 2	Khan	Private	C	Lost
128	155	Awad Jasim 1	Khan	Private	B	Extant
129	156	Awad Jasim 2	Khan	Private	C	Extant
130	157	Awad Jasim 3	Khan	Private	C	Lost
131	158	Awad Jasim 4	Khan	Private	B	Lost
132	159	Mirjaniya	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
133	160	Shorja Suq	Suq	Private	C	Extant
134	161	Abu Al Ruh Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
135	170	Arif Agha House	House	Government	C	Lost
136	171	House 5/176	House	Private	C	Extant
137	172	Chaldean Church	Church	Church	B	Extant
138	173	Catholic Church	Church	Church	A	Extant
139	174	Latin Church	Church	Church	A	Extant
140	175	Mazraqchi House	House	Private	C	Lost
141	176	Shatub House	House	Private	C	Lost
142	177	House 26/180	House	Private	C	Lost
143	178	House 7/182	House	Private	C	Lost
144	179	House 20/182	House	Private	C	Lost
145	181	House 25/183	House	Private	C	Lost
146	182	George House	House	Private	C	Lost
147	183	House 3/185	House	Private	B	Lost
148	184	House 7/185	House	Private	C	Lost
149	185	Ali Hashim House	House	Private	C	Lost
150	186	Banat Al Hasan	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
151	187	House in Ammar	House	Awqaf	C	Lost
152	188	House 71/186	House	Private	C	Lost
153	189	Ammar Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
154	190	Ahmad Jadu House	House	Private	B	Lost

155	191	98/186 House	House	Private	C	Lost
156	192	Shahrabali House 1	House	Private	A	Extant
157	193	Shahrabali House 2	House	Private	B	Lost
158	194	House 10/192	House	Private	C	Extant
159	195	House 24/192	House	Private	C	Lost
160	204	Mulla Hamadi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	C	Extant
161	205	Sayid Sultan Ali*	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
162	206	Abd Al Karim Al Jili	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Lost
163	207	Abbu Qassab House	House	Private	C	Lost
164	208	Amin Rawi House	House	Private	C	Lost
165	209	Mamuna Mdamgha House	House	Private	C	Lost
166	210	House 5/198	House	Private	C	Lost
167	211	House 53/200	House	Private	C	Extant
168	212	Rauf Hammam	Hammam	Private	B	Lost
169	213	House 24/204	House	Private	C	Extant
170	214	House 26/204	House	Private	C	Lost
171	215	House 31/204	House	Private	C	Lost
172	216	Alwash Abud House	House	Private	C	Extant
173	217	House 2/199	House	Private	C	Lost
174	219	Ibn Al Jawzi Tomb*	Tomb	Awqaf	A	Extant
175	220	Garabait House	Commercial building	Private	B	Extant
176	221	Ex British Residency*	Ancient Monument	Government	A	Extant
177	222	Ex British Consulate	Ancient Monument	Government	B	Extant
178	223	St. Raresa Church	Church	Church	B	Extant
179	224	Numani Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
180	225	Naqib Riverfront*	House	Government	B	Extant
181	226	Danial Riverfront	House	Mujammada	C	Extant
182	227	Vartan Minas	House	Private	C	Extant
183	228	Inspectorate House	House	Government	B	Extant
184	229	Khidhairi Riverfront*	House	Private	C	Extant
185	230	Saraj Al Din School	House	Mujammada	B	Extant
186	231	House 5/8/1	House	Private	C	Lost
187	232	House 7/8/1	House	Mujammada	C	Extant
188	233	House 9/8/1	House	Mujammada	C	Lost
189	234	House 11/8/1	House	Private	C	Lost
190	235	House 15/8/1	House	Private	C	Lost
191	236	Nasir House	House	Private	B	Extant
192	237	House B3/9/1	House	Private	C	Lost
193	238	House 3/9/1	House	Private	C	Extant
194	239	House G3/9/1	House	Private	C	Extant

195	240	House 5/9/1	House	Private	C	Lost
196	241	House 7/9/1	House	Private	C	Lost
197	242	House 9/9/1	House	Private	C	Lost
198	243	House 11/9/1	House	Private	C	Lost
199	244	House G11/9/1	House	Private	C	Extant
200	245	House A 13/9/1	House	Private	C	Extant
201	248	Al Yahu House	House	Mujammada	B	Lost
202	249	House 142/233	House	Mujammada	C	Lost
203	250	House /233	House	Private	C	Lost
204	251	House 22/9/1	House	Private	C	Extant
205	252	House 10/9/1	House	Private	B	Lost
206	253	House 12/9/1	House	Private	B	Lost
207	254	House 14/9/1	House	Private	B	Lost
208	255	House 16/9/1	House	Private	B	Lost
209	256	House 18/9/1	House	Private	B	Lost
210	257	House 20/9/1	House	Private	B	Lost
211	258	House 6/9/1	House	Mujammada	C	Extant
212	259	House 4/9/1	House	Mujammada	B	Extant
213	260	Mihaiadi House	House	Private	C	Lost
214	261	House 56/231	House	Private	C	Lost
215	262	Fajri House	House	Private	C	Lost
216	263	House 54/1/231	House	Private	C	Extant
217	264	House B54/1/231	House	Private	C	Lost
218	265	House C54/1/231	House	Private	C	Lost
219	266	House D54/1/231	House	Private	C	Lost
220	267	House 53/1/231	House	Private	C	Lost
221	268	House B61/1/231	House	Mujammada	C	Lost
222	269	House 61/1/231	House	Private	C	Lost
223	270	House 57/1/231	House	Private	C	Lost
224	271	House 57/1/231-2	House	Private	C	Extant
225	272	House B57/1/231	House	Private	C	Extant
226	273	Naqib Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
227	274	Saada Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Lost
228	289	Masraf Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
229	290	Tatar House	House	Private	C	Lost
230	291	Shorbachi House	House	Private	C	Extant
231	292	House 20/75	House	Private	C	Lost
232	293	Shihab House	House	Private	C	Lost
233	294	Fadhil Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
234	295	House 45/80	House	Private	C	Extant

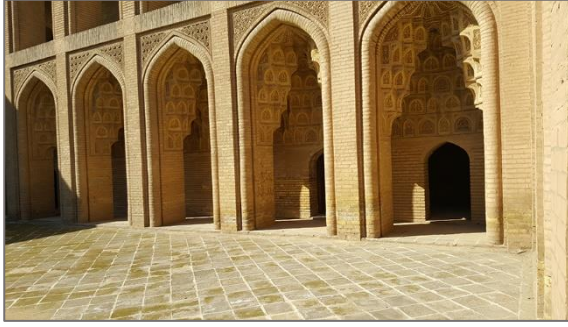


235	296	Al Malih Hammam	Hammam	Private	B	Extant
236	297	Mnawra Khatun Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
237	298	Tayar Tomb-Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
238	299	House 15Abbas Afandi	House	Mujammada	C	Extant
239	300	House 28/95	House	Private	C	Lost
240	303	Amin House	House	Private	B	Lost
241	304	Qadhi Al-Hajat	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
242	305	Hadi Badi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
243	306	Qanbar Ali	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
244	307	Khidhir Beg Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
245	308	House 113/137	House	Mujammada	C	Extant
246	309	Maslub Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
247	310	House 432/94	House	Private	C	Lost
248	311	Caliphs (Minaret)	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
249	312	Al Ghazil Suq	Suq	Private	B	Extant
250	313	Hanun Al Kabir Suq	Suq	Private	B	Extant
251	314	Hidayat Allah Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
252	315	Abi Safain Mosque*	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
253	318	Muhammad Al Alfi	Tomb	Awqaf	B	Extant
254	319	Al Sayid Hammam	Hammam	Private	A	Lost
255	320	Saeaj Al Din	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
256	321	Khidhairi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
257	322	Sadar Al Din	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
258	323	Gailani House	House	Private	B	Lost
259	324	House 96/207	House	Private	C	Extant
260	325	Khulani Tomb-Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
261	326	Qara Peer Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
262	327	Ibrahim Al Gailani	House	Government	B	Extant
263	328	Tawfiq Gailani House	House	Government	C	Extant
264	331	Aida Rousi	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
265	332	Ibrahim Salum House	House	Private	C	Lost
266	333	Kinaan Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	C	Extant
267	334	Maki Salman House	House	Private	C	Extant
268	335	House 22/2/231	House	Private	C	Lost
269	336	Abariqi Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
270	337	Abu Halqa	Tomb	Private	B	Lost
271	338	House 27/2/231	House	Private	C	Extant
272	346	Abdullah Tomb*	Tomb	Private	B	Extant
273	347	Sayid Mubarak*	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
274	348	Mahdiya Mosque*	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant

<b>275</b>	350	House 61/125*	House	Private	C	Lost
<b>276</b>	355	Gailani Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
<b>277</b>	356	Abu Khamra Tomb	Tomb	Private	B	Extant
<b>278</b>	358	Qadiriya Takya	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Lost
<b>279</b>	359	Al Naqib House	House	Private	B	Lost
<b>280</b>	360	Bandanigi Tomb-Takya	Tomb	Private	A	Extant
<b>281</b>	361	Miluki Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	C	Extant
<b>282</b>	362	Wasil Tomb-Mosque	Mosque	Awqaf	B	Extant
<b>283</b>	370	Ghazali Tomb*	Tomb	Awqaf	B	Extant
<b>284</b>	371	Caliph Musta'sim*	Tomb	Awqaf	A	Extant
<b>285</b>	372	Sahrawardi*	Mosque	Awqaf	A	Extant
<b>286</b>	373	Wastani Gate*	Ancient Monument	Government	A	Extant
<b>287</b>	374	Shaikh Ibrahim Tomb*	Tomb	Private	B	Extant
<b>288</b>	375	Shaikh Zanur Tomb*	Tomb	Private	B	Extant
<b>289</b>	381	Gertrude Bell Tomb*	Tomb	Private	B	Extant
* Photography was not allowed for security or accessibility reasons.						



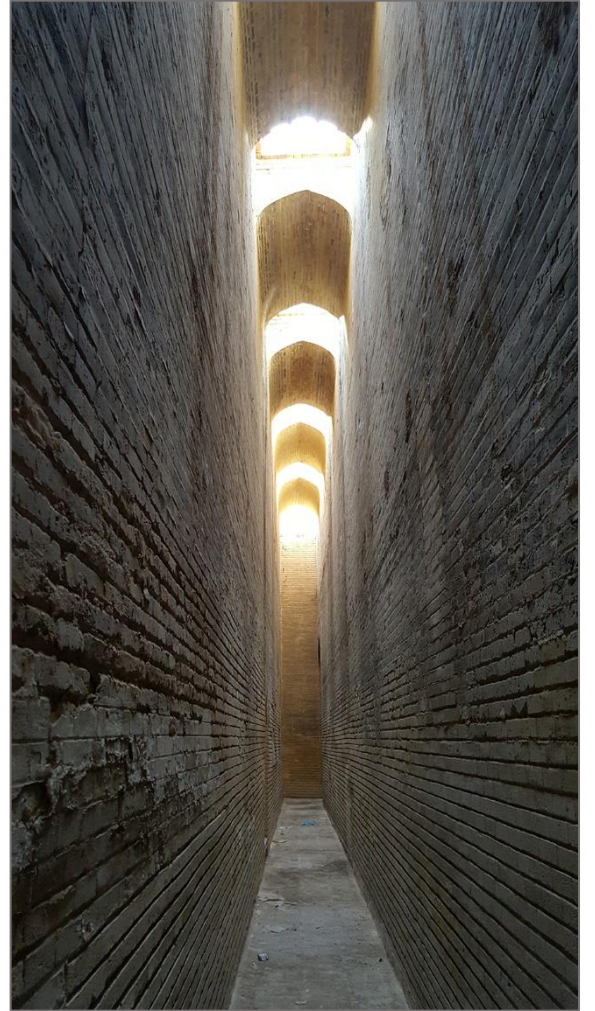
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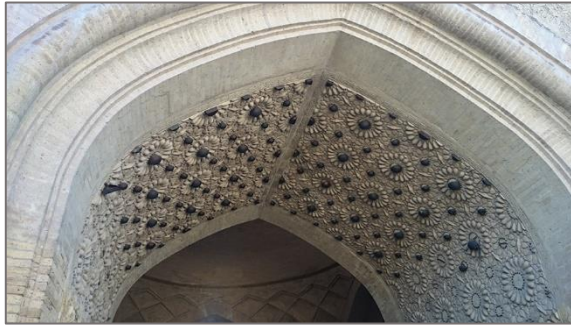
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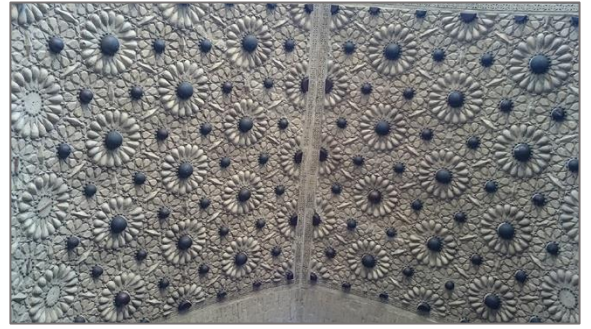
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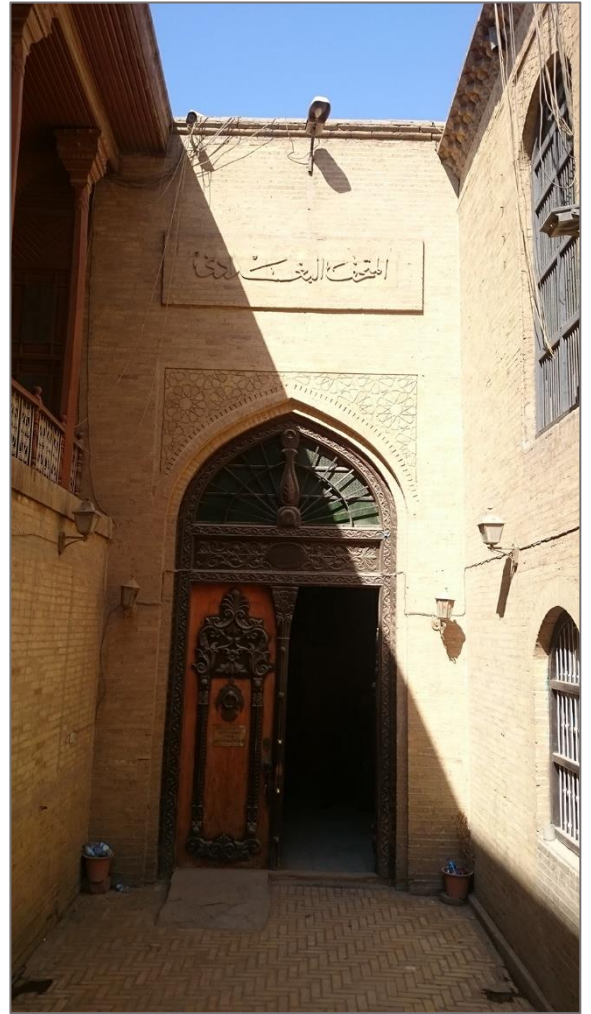
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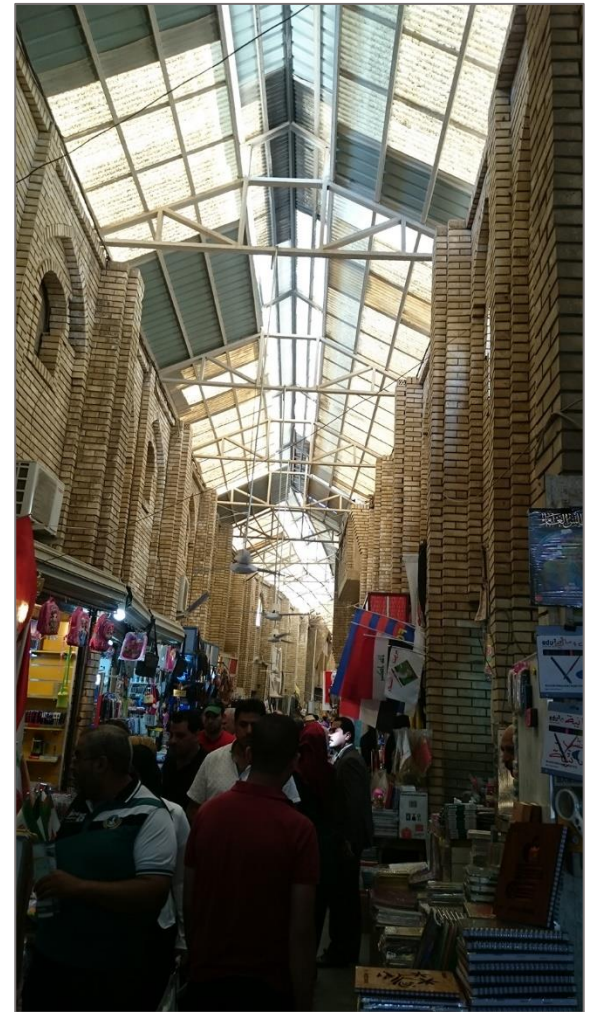
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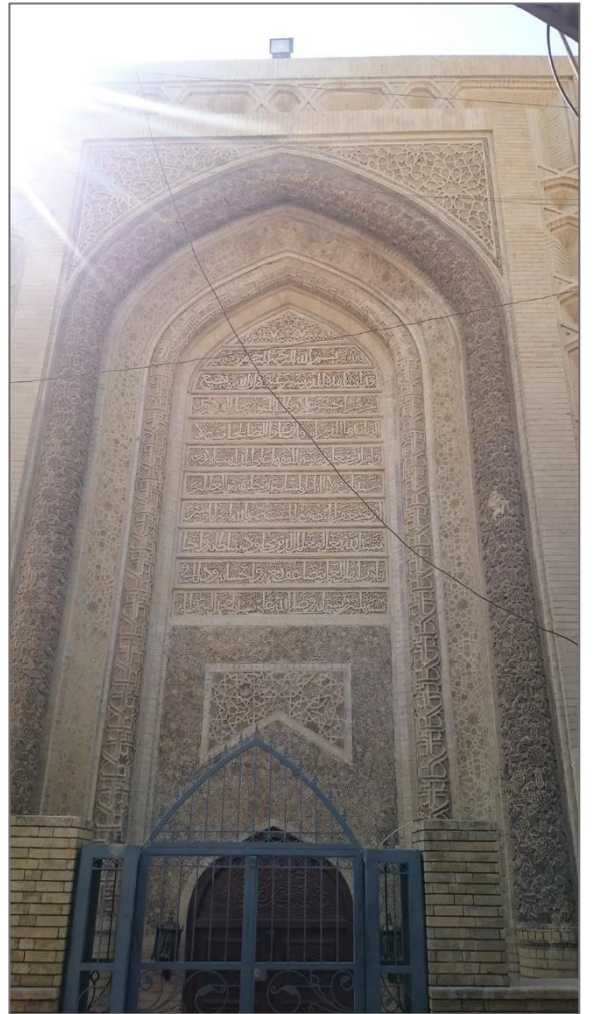
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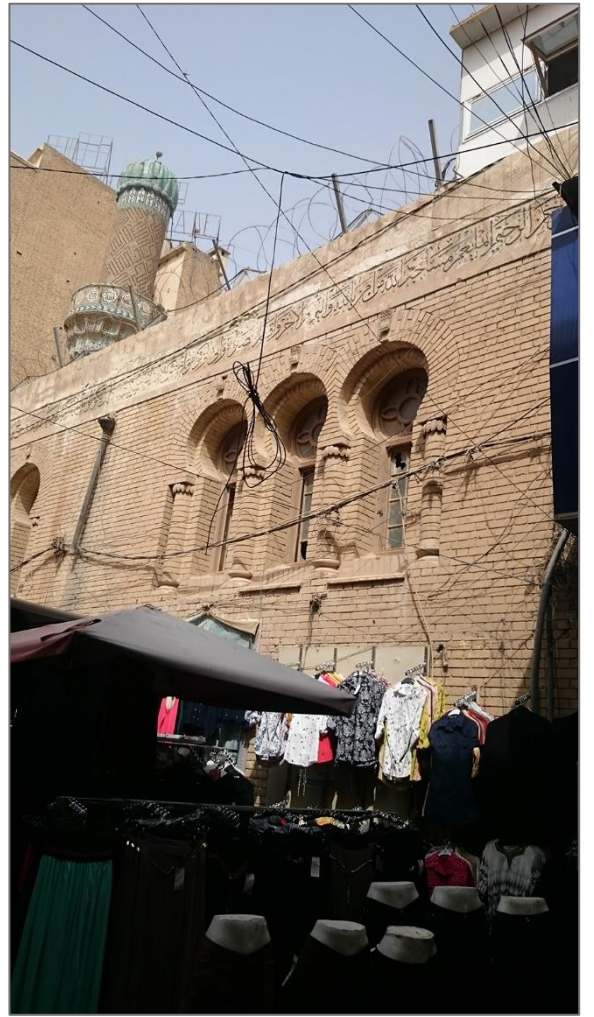
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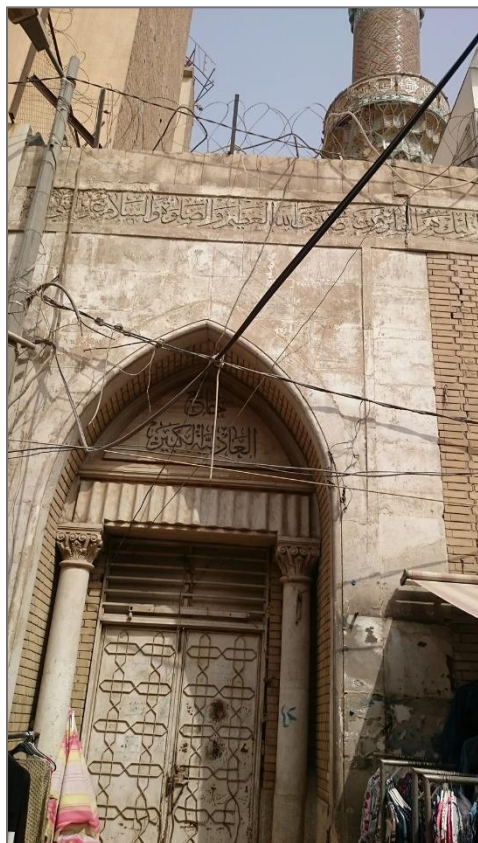
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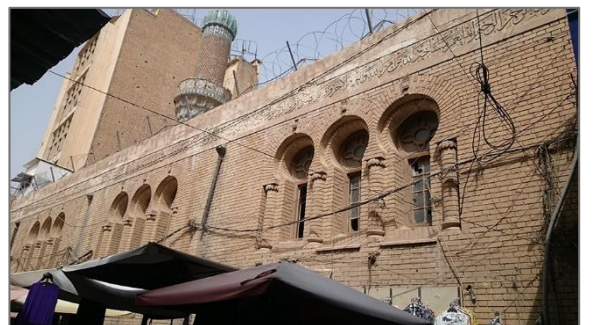
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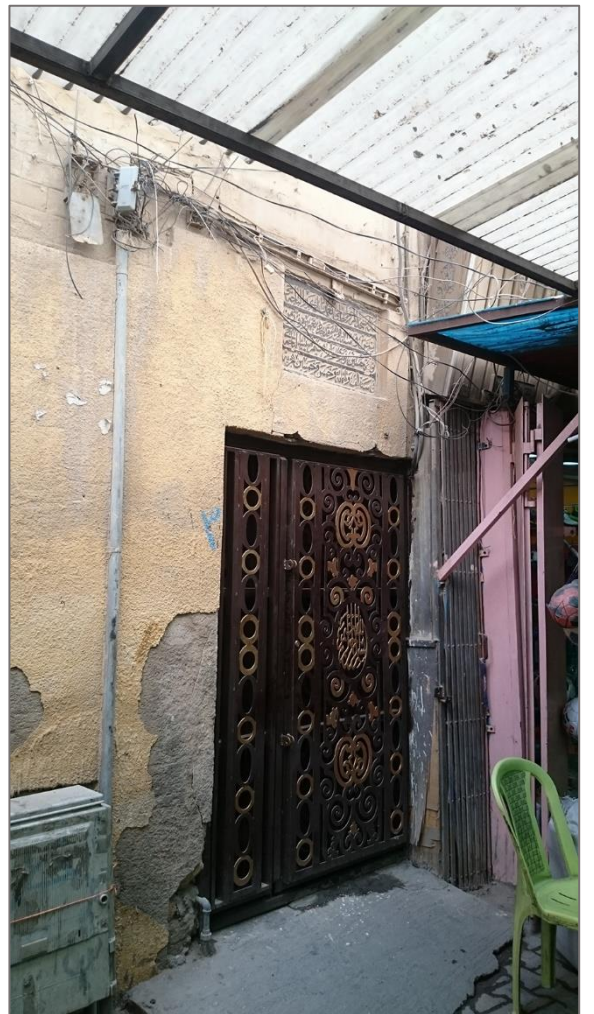
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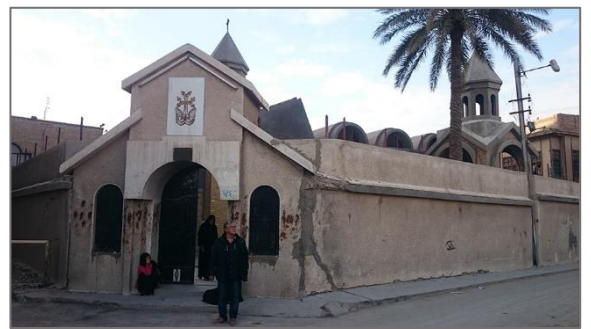
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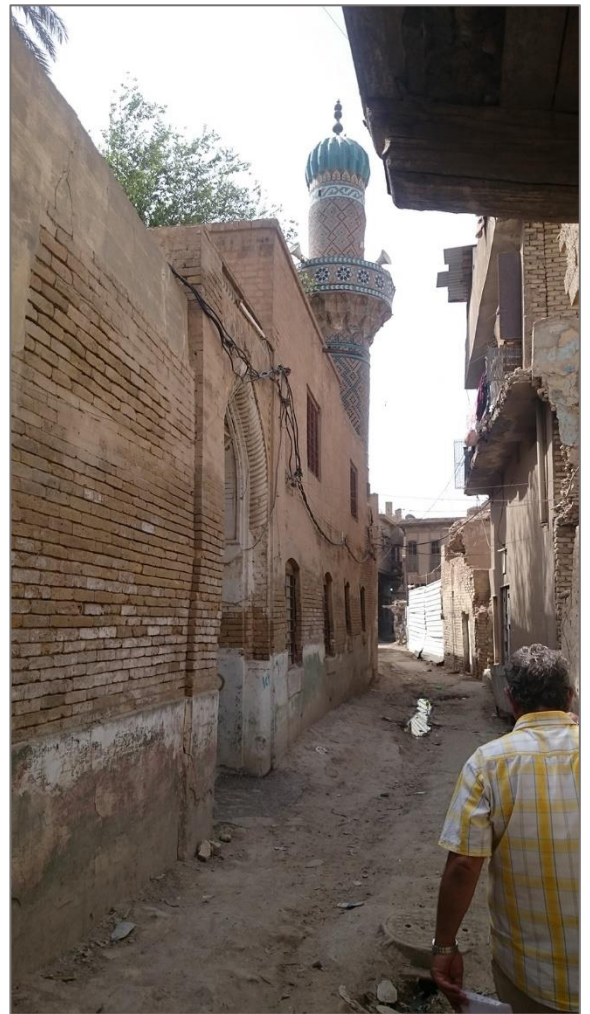
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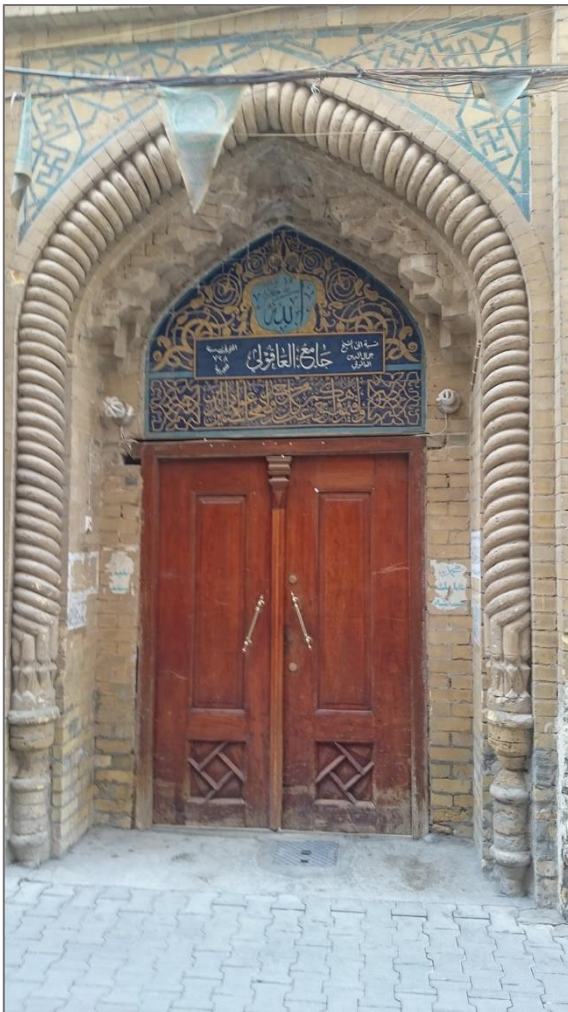
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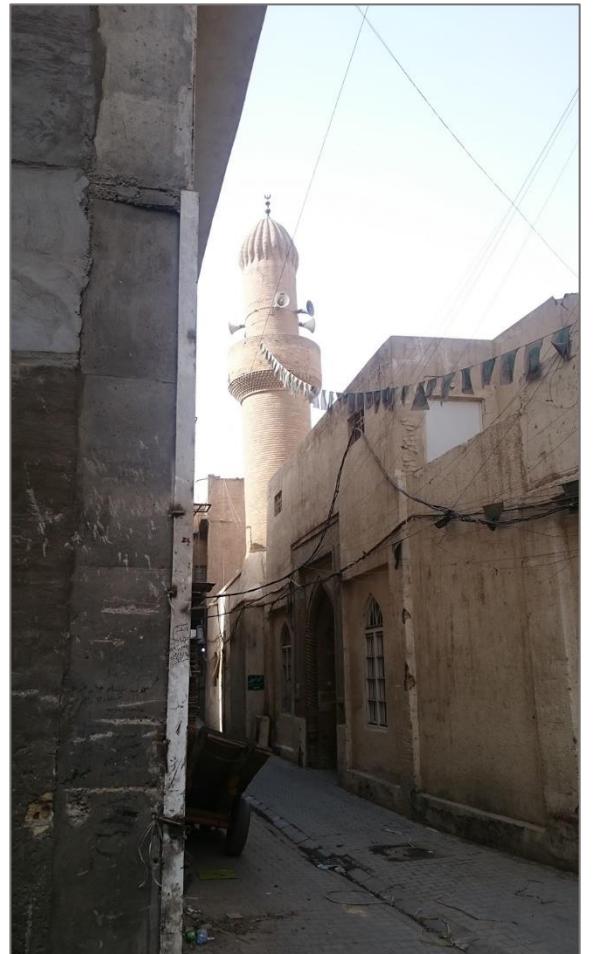
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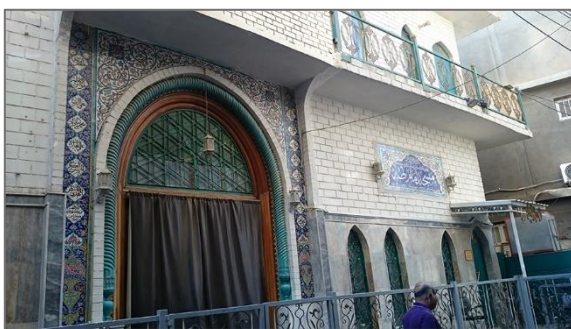
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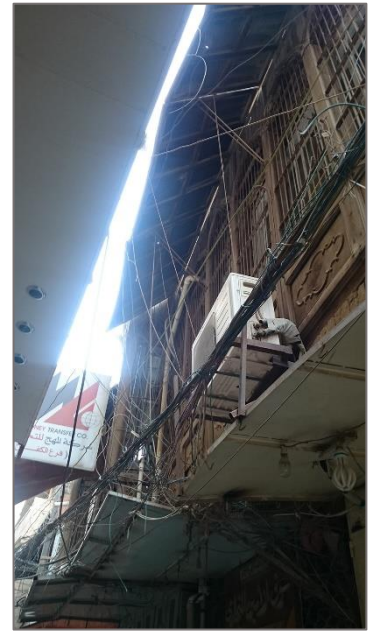
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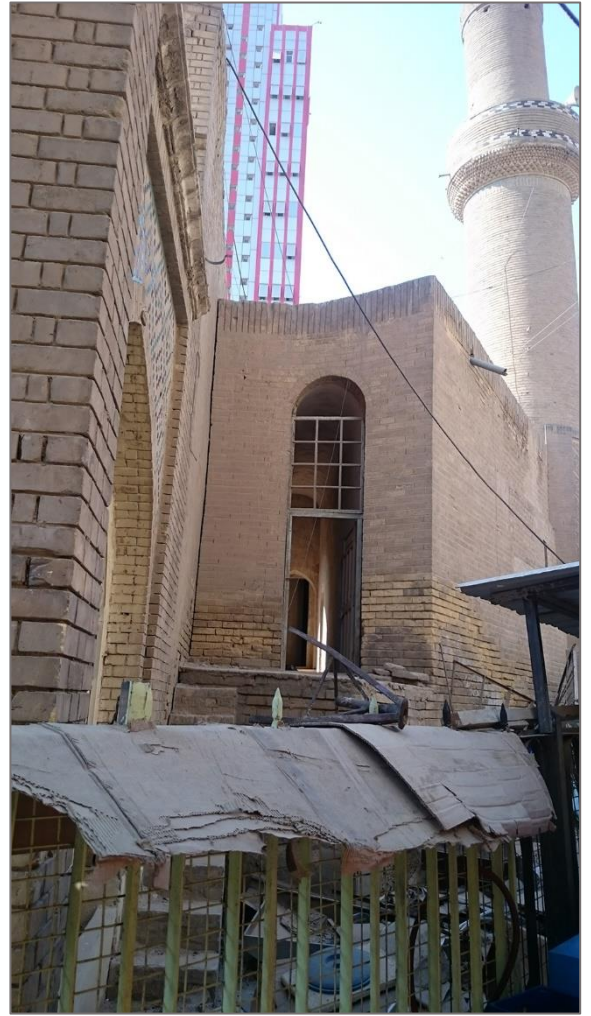
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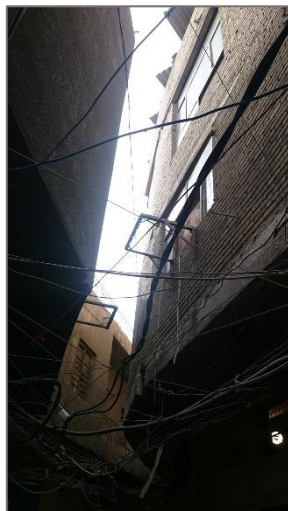
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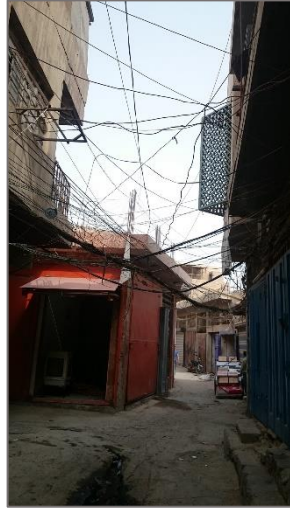
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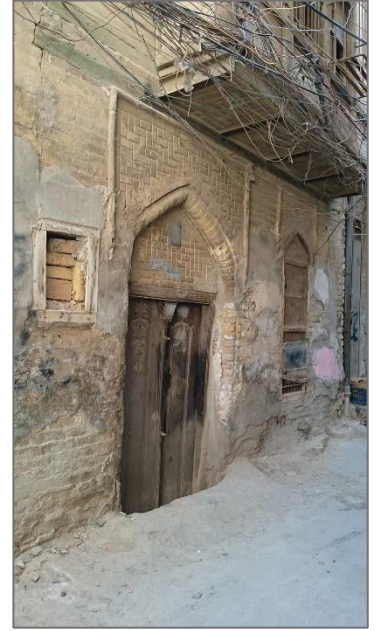
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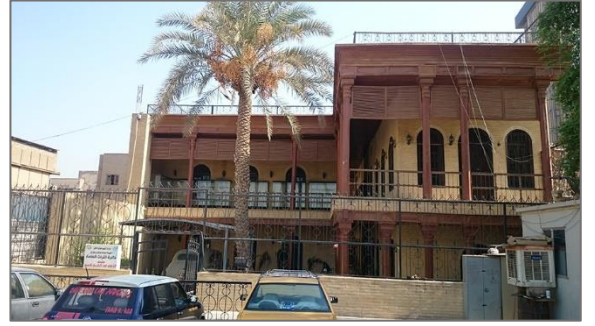
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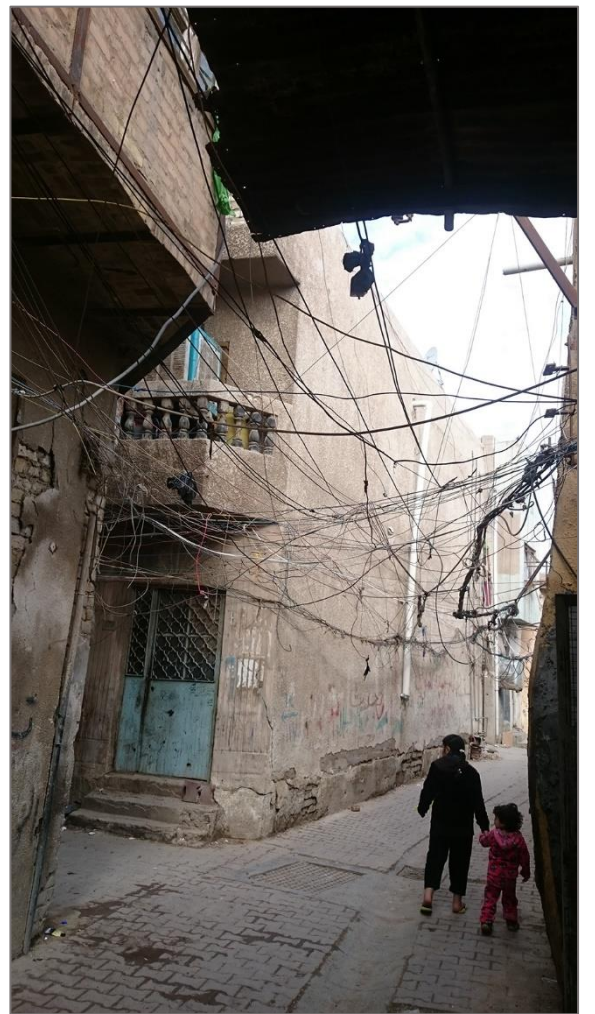
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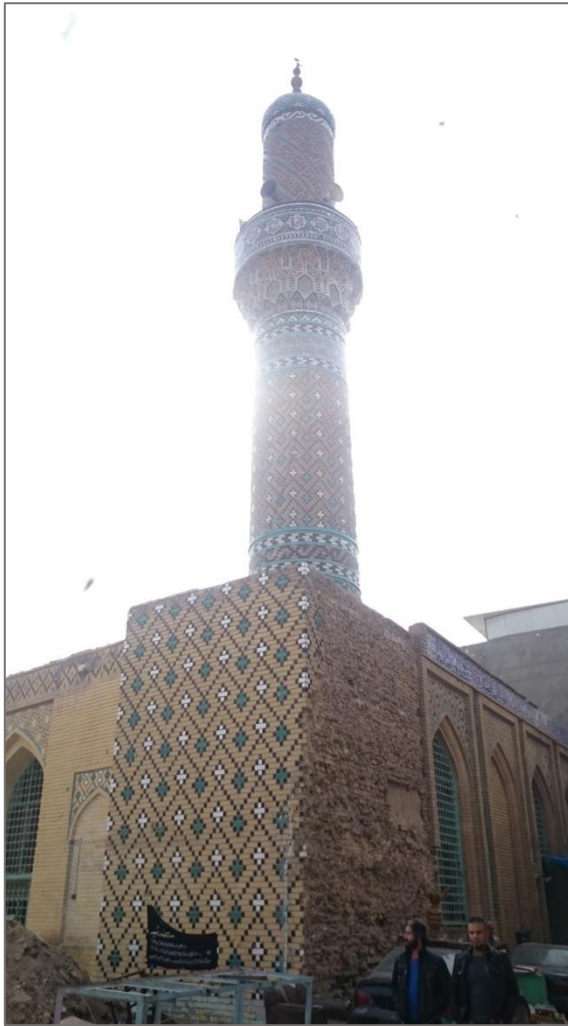
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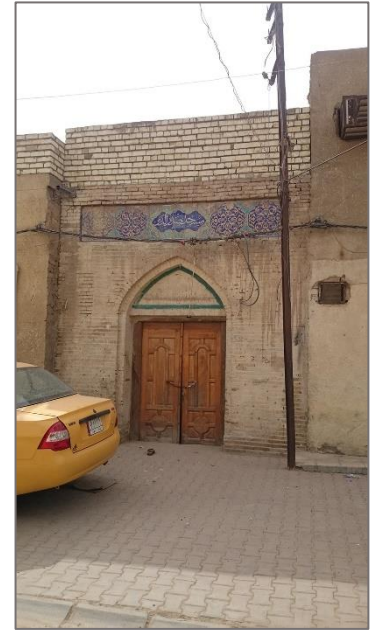
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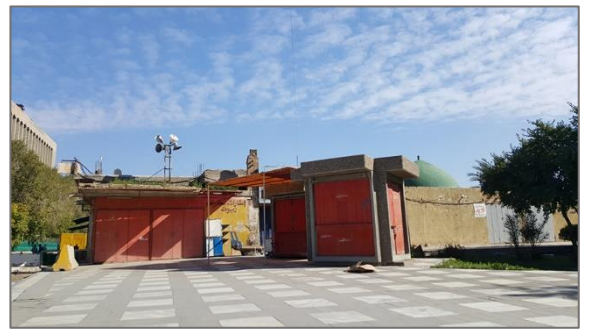
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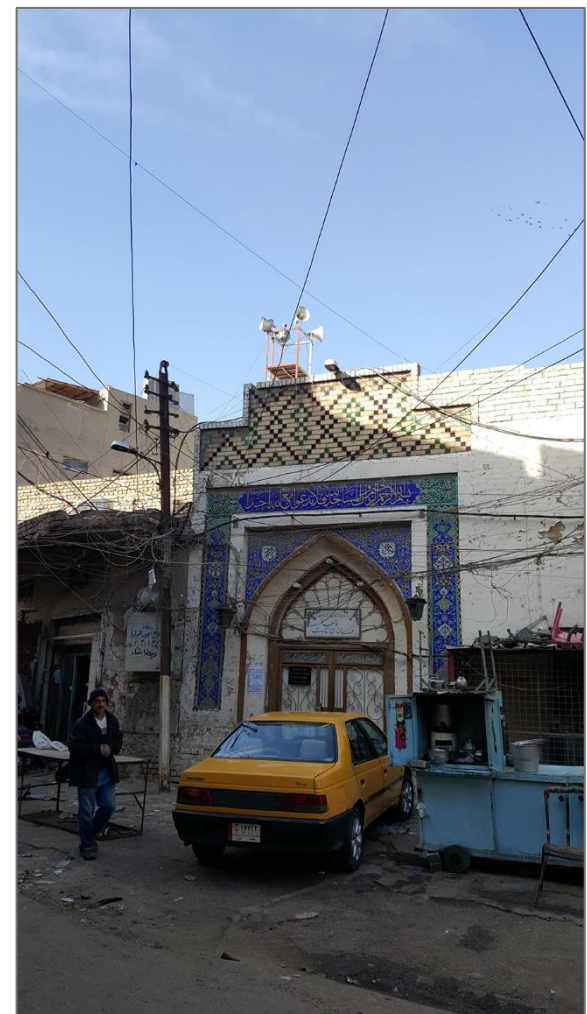
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## The analysis of the quantitative dataset

### Grade \* Loss \* Ownership \* Function Cross-tabulation

Count

Function	Ownership		Loss		Total	
			Lost	Extant		
Ancient Monument	Awqaf	Grade	A		1	1
			B		2	2
		Total			3	3
	Government	Grade	A		3	3
			B		6	6
		Total			9	9
	Antiquities	Grade	A	1	3	4
		Total		1	3	4
	Total	Grade	A	1	7	8
			B	0	8	8
		Total		1	15	16
	House	Private	Grade	A	0	2
B				21	6	27
C				66	27	93
Total				87	35	122
Awqaf		Grade	C	1		1
		Total		1		1
Government		Grade	B	0	3	3
			C	1	1	2
		Total		1	4	5
Mujammada		Grade	A	2	0	2
			B	2	4	6
			C	3	6	9
		Total		7	10	17
Total		Grade	A	2	2	4
			B	23	13	36
			C	71	34	105
		Total		96	49	145
Mosque	Awqaf	Grade	A	1	25	26
		B	2	30	32	
		C	0	4	4	
	Total		3	59	62	



	<b>Total</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>	1	25	26
<b>B</b>			2	30	32	
<b>C</b>			0	4	4	
<b>Total</b>		3	59	62		
<b>Khan</b>	<b>Private</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>B</b>	9	7	16
			<b>C</b>	3	3	6
		<b>Total</b>	12	10	22	
	<b>Awqaf</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>	0	1	1
			<b>B</b>	1	0	1
		<b>Total</b>	1	1	2	
	<b>Mujammada</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>B</b>	1		1
		<b>Total</b>	1		1	
	<b>Antiquities</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>		1	1
		<b>Total</b>			1	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>	0	2	2
			<b>B</b>	11	7	18
			<b>C</b>	3	3	6
		<b>Total</b>	14	12	26	
<b>Hammam</b>	<b>Private</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>	2	1	3
			<b>B</b>	1	1	2
			<b>C</b>	1	0	1
		<b>Total</b>	4	2	6	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>	2	1	3
			<b>B</b>	1	1	2
			<b>C</b>	1	0	1
		<b>Total</b>	4	2	6	
<b>Suq</b>	<b>Private</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>B</b>		6	6
			<b>C</b>		4	4
		<b>Total</b>		10	10	
	<b>Awqaf</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>		1	1
			<b>B</b>		1	1
		<b>Total</b>		2	2	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>		1	1
			<b>B</b>		7	7
			<b>C</b>		4	4
		<b>Total</b>		12	12	
<b>Tomb</b>	<b>Private</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>	0	1	1
			<b>B</b>	1	5	6
		<b>Total</b>	1	6	7	
	<b>Awqaf</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>A</b>		3	3

			B		3	3
		Total			6	6
	Total	Grade	A	0	4	4
			B	1	8	9
		Total			1	12
Cafe	Private	Grade	C		2	2
			Total			2
	Total	Grade	C		2	2
			Total			2
Church	Church	Grade	A		2	2
			B		2	2
			C		1	1
		Total			5	5
	Total	Grade	A		2	2
			B		2	2
			C		1	1
Total			5	5		
Commercial building	Private	Grade	B		2	2
			Total			2
	Total	Grade	B		2	2
			Total			2
Total	Private	Grade	A	2	4	6
			B	32	27	59
			C	70	36	106
		Total			104	67
	Awqaf	Grade	A	1	31	32
			B	3	36	39
			C	1	4	5
		Total			5	71
	Government	Grade	A	0	3	3
			B	0	9	9
			C	1	1	2
		Total			1	13
	Mujammada	Grade	A	2	0	2
			B	3	4	7
			C	3	6	9
		Total			8	10
	Antiquities	Grade	A	1	4	5
			Total			1

	Church	Grade	A		2	2
			B		2	2
			C		1	1
		Total		5	5	
	Total	Grade	A	6	44	50
			B	38	78	116
			C	75	48	123
		Total	119	170	289	